The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME VI | New York, Saturday, March 11, 1916 | Number 71

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THE place of the submarine as a commerce destroyer did not become a serious problem until the sinking of the Lusitania. Then the world realized vividly that as a weapon it was radically different from the cruiser, that if it were unchecked, a war between two nations would become a murderous anarchy on the open sea. In the first Lusitania note (May 13, 1915) President Wilson, with Mr. Bryan approving, rested his case on the "practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they can not put a prize crew on board of her, they can not sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats." In those sentences was expressed the essential human truth about the submarine as a commerce destroyer.

IN the negotiation which followed the first Lusitania note this truth was laid aside, and our government was drawn into a discussion aimed to find a way of permitting the use of submarines against merchant ships. We no longer tried to rule them out altogether; we tried to make them obey the law of visit and search. The German government promised to obey that law. We became so interested in establishing the principle of visit and search that for a time we lost sight of the deeper fact that visit and search by submarines is difficult and dangerous at all times. We lost sight of it so completely that we virtually agreed with the German government that ships armed to resist visit and search should no longer be armed. There followed the Lansing memorandum, meant to be a confidential "feeler," which somebody found it useful to blurt out. The German government immediately announced a new submarine war against armed ships, and we were in the unpleasant dilemma of seeing all that we had won for non-combatant life jeopardized. On top of that came the publication of the British orders which instructed merchant ships to regard the approach of a submarine as a hostile act. In other words, they were ordered to fire if a submarine tried to act on the law of visit and search.

PRESIDENT WILSON, so far as the argument went, was in a bad position. He chose to extricate himself by returning to the original principle of the first Lusitania note. For if merchant ships are to be allowed to arm, if they are going to fire on any submarine which approaches them, if submarines are nevertheless not allowed to sink without warning, then the submarine is for all practical purposes outlawed as a commerce destroyer. Mr. Wilson has for the present taken the extreme and daring position. A new weapon has been invented. The problem is what shall be the law of its use. The Germans ask for a new law which would make warfare more hideous than ever. Mr.

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Wilson has answered by standing for a law which virtually eliminates the submarine from warfare against merchant ships. There should be no mistake about the radicalism of his position. In principle he has taken his stand with sea power and maritime law as it exists. He has ranged the United States on the side of the mistress of the seas. He has thrown the national interests of America into the balance in the way most calculated to maintain British sea power. He remains technically neutral, but the import and the consequences are unmistakable.

WHETHER in specific cases Mr. Wilson will follow out the logic of his policy remains to be seen. For though the trend of the policy is clear, its detailed application is not. If the Germans sink an armed ship without warning and American lives are lost, there is sure to be much confusion. It will have to be ascertained whether the ship attacked the submarine, and the facts will be difficult to establish. The line between defense and offense is an almost invisible line, and Mr. Wilson will have a good deal of license in fixing it. We do not envy him his task. He will have to make up his mind when the specific case arises how far he will go against the submarine. He will have to decide whether to throw the benefit of the doubt to the merchant ship or the submarine. There is no unalterable principle to guide him. He will have to consider the temper of this country, the politics of Germany, the future of Anglo-American relations, and then settle with his own conscience the amount of the risk he can afford to assume.

OPPOSITION to the confirmation of Mr. Brandeis as Justice of the Supreme Court among unprejudiced people has finally narrowed down pretty much to one point. Even though the charges against him have not been established, many people cannot dispossess themselves of a lingering doubt as to his record. If he is not to be suspected why has so much suspicion fastened upon him? The answer is plain. Mr. Brandeis has been a rebellious and troublesome member of the most homogeneous, self-centered and self-complacent community in the United States. This community has condemned him, not necessarily because in the New Haven and Shoe Machinery cases he was a caustic and successful critic of the management of their favorite corporations, but because an attack made by him seemed to come from an enemy within the gates. It created in their minds an impression of disloyalty. Hence it was that lawyers who had been opposed to Mr. Brandeis in litigation for many years would testify that his reputation was that of being "untrustworthy," but would when challenged be unable to reproduce out of their own personal experience any confirmation of the charge. It was a special community that had found Mr. Brandeis untrustworthy—the powerful but limited community which dominated the business and social life of Boston. He was untrustworthy because he was troublesome. He was disloyal, if at all, to a group. All the smoke of ill-repute which has been gathered around Mr. Brandeis originated in the group psychology of these gentlemen, and because they are men of influence it seemed ominous. But it is smoke without any fire except that of personal or group antagonism. Whenever a supposed conflagration is investigated it is found, as in the Shoe Machinery case, not to reflect on Mr. Brandeis's character and fitness.

THE force of the hostility to Mr. Brandeis in Boston is consequently broken by its intensive character. The fifty-one signers of the petition opposing Mr. Brandeis's confirmation did not represent fifty-one individual investigations and verdicts derived from different sections of the community. It represented substantially one investigation and one verdict which had been repeated so often that it ceased to require the confirmation of facts. Among the petitioners there were a few "outsiders," but the overwhelming majority were men more closely connected with one another by economic, social and family ties than existed in the case of any other similar community in the country. For the most part they transact the same kind of business in the same neighborhood; they belong to the same clubs; they are bound together by a most complicated system of relationships by blood and marriage. They come of a proud line and are jealous of a noble tradition; but they cannot expect to escape the penalty of uniting so much mutual intimacy with so much exclusiveness. The penalty is that of being peculiarly subject to group influences and judgments. They form an essentially ingrowing community. Very few outsiders make more than a superficial impression on their business and social behavior, and the insiders act and react most intensely on one another. For this reason they count for very much less than their intelligence, education and economic power entitle them to count in American public affairs. Ordinarily a community of this kind can lead its own exclusive life without provoking criticism; but when it acts aggressively in public practically as a unit, its members challenge public attention and should not resent public scrutiny. The contra-Brandeis petitioners started on a deadly errand. They undertook to destroy the reputation of a man, to prevent a public servant from using his great abilities to the best public advantage. They have exhibited only their own disqualification to draw an indictment.

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THE encircling movement of the Germans against Verdun still continues. They announce the capture of Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of the fortress, where they are using the advantage of their St. Mihiel salient for all it is worth. Moreover, west of the Meuse they are showing great activity all the way from Régneville on the Meuse through Bethincourt to the Cheppy Wood, which is practically an eastern extension, a detached grove of the Argonne forest. The whole operation consists of constant pressure on the body of the Verdun salient combined with an especial attempt to pinch the position at its extremities. Provided Verdun must be evacuated, the avenue of escape consists chiefly of the highroad to St. Ménéhould, southwest of Verdun, a road which must be held at all costs. It is difficult to see how the French can escape one of two alternatives—either to retreat from Verdun to a straightened line from St. Ménéhould eastward to Commercy, or else to launch serious counter attacks both in the Argonne region and on the eastern side of the St. Mihiel salient, from Pont à Mousson to St. Mihiel. Provided the French are unable to mass sufficient artillery for this purpose, or for successful local counter attacks, the Germans have shown that they can batter down field works and fortified villages one by one, as they have done in the past with forts. If operations continue in the Verdun region as heretofore, in the course of time, and at a bloody sacrifice of life, the Germans must eventually drive their enemies from the fortress. But even suppose they do take Verdun, the question still remains whether such a victory would be worth the price of flesh and blood, either in military or moral advantage. That question is certainly very far from decided.

BESIDES being a paltry and silly way of dealing with a crisis the performance of Friday, March 3rd, was one of the queerest things the Senate has ever done. In its amended form the Gore resolution declared that the death of an American citizen, if caused by the sinking of an armed enemy merchant vessel by a submarine without warning, "would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war between the United States and the German Empire." By the administration the vote to table this resolution is counted a victory. A vote to table the same resolution, if it had been introduced not by Mr. Gore but by a supporter of the administration, would have been counted as a defeat. If Mr. Gore had introduced a resolution saying that the death of an American citizen, in the circumstances he described, "would not constitute" a cause of war, and if this had been tabled, the administration would have counted this vote, precisely the opposite of the actual vote, as equally a victory. The rule appears to be that the words of a resolution mean nothing, that nothing matters except the name of the introducer. How the Senate's vote ought to be scored is a question likely to puzzle scorers from now until the end of time.

AMONG the Senators who voted against tabling the Gore resolution were Mr. Borah of Idaho, Mr. Cummins of Iowa, Mr. La Follette of Wisconsin, Mr. Norris of Nebraska, and Mr. Sherman of Illinois. What have they in common? They are all classified as Republicans. All except Mr. Borah are from the Middle West. Have they anything else in common? Yes, each of them is more or less a candidate for the Republican nomination for President. If Senator Hitchcock's interpretation of the vote is correct all these aspirants voted merely to postpone the day of decision. If the administration's interpretation is correct they all voted against giving the President a free hand. Immediately after the vote Mr. Borah explained in a sensible speech that he is in favor of upholding "the principle that an American citizen has a right to travel on a merchant ship armed for defensive purposes." Mr. La Follette and Mr. Norris, who have not the habit of hiding their opinions, may be trusted to speak with equal clearness. Mr. Cummins and Mr. Sherman would do well to make themselves heard. This is not the year for a man who wants a Presidential nomination, and who has cast a vote which may mean anything, to avoid explaining exactly what his own meaning is, if he happens to know.

A DEFEATED litigant is entitled to cuss the courts. It has long been his constitutional privilege. But gleeful as it may make the satiric to see the New York *Times* raging at the judiciary, the recent Shubert decision gives that newspaper no real grievance against the Court of Appeals. It is not the decision which is outrageous in this important case. It is the condition of the law. The court has held that the dramatic critic of the *Times* has no remedy against exclusion from the Shubert theaters, but this decision should not be held to justify the unwholesome intention of the Shuberts, or to support a general principle that the absolute right to attend plays for the purpose of criticizing them is undesirable or against public policy. Some ridiculous arguments along this line were advanced by counsel for the Shuberts. The customary wistful plea was made as to the large investments which free criticism imperils, as if that same plea were not equally dear to investors in opiates to drug babies to sleep. It is not the Shubert arguments as to public policy regarding free criticism which justify the Court of Appeals. It is the considered

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opinion that under the common law and under the present statute of New York the decision of the court is sound.

INSTEAD of criticizing the Court of Appeals in the Shubert case, effort should be directed towards passing a law to meet the situation. It is highly desirable as a matter of public policy that the present law be amended to protect critics in the theater, a public or at any rate quasi-public institution. The theater owners would still have every remedy which is now open to an author or publisher when critics indulge in unfair, malicious or libelous comments upon offerings to the reading public. Under the present law a producer can strangle theater criticism, yet if the same play is offered in book form he cannot strangle criticism. But it is the legislature, not the courts, that should be blamed. When controversy arises as to the constitutionality of the amended law it will be time to judge the judges. Their general attitude towards the regulation of a quasi-public institution will then become a determining factor, and that will be the time to look to them for recognition of the broad interests of the public which the Shuberts persistently defy.

WITH practically identical bills introduced in New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey, the movement for health insurance—the second large step in a comprehensive system of social forethought—is fairly under way in America. The widespread enactment of such legislation within the next few years seems as inevitable as the adoption of workmen's compensation was five years ago. The need is even greater, for while the yearly number of industrial accidents in the country is estimated at about 725,000, the number of cases of sickness among breadwinners is over 13,000,000. There is need for a "health first" campaign similar to that for "safety first" which compensation laws so promptly stimulated. In order that workers, employers and the state be each induced to do their utmost toward sanitation, the proposed measure would have each contribute—in the proportion of two-fifths, two-fifths and one-fifth, respectively—to provide during specified periods for medical care of the sick and for two-thirds of their wages. The funds are to be administered through local health associations managed by representatives of employers and employees, and a social insurance commission to supervise the entire system. Interest is keen in the hearing at Albany on March 14th. If no stronger arguments are presented against the bill than those given at the Massachusetts hearing on March 1st it is difficult to see how the legislature can fail to take some favorable action—difficult, that is, unless one knew legislatures.

Disintegrated America

IF additional proof were needed that "preparedness" is rather a matter of the application of brains and moral purpose to our public problems than of more regiments and battleships, it would be supplied by the recent spectacle of the Washington government at work during a momentous national crisis. The exhibition of disorganization has been discouragingly complete. Ominous defects have been revealed in the official machinery of government, in the unofficial supplementary machinery of partisan responsibility, in the practise and the personnel of the national legislature, in our traditional approach to questions of foreign policy, and in the attitude of the majority of Americans towards their joint responsibilities to other nations. The one redeeming aspect of the whole disquieting spectacle has been the resistance offered by President Wilson to the tide of demoralization. Thanks to him America still stands for a positive and disinterested contribution to international welfare.

Rarely has a great nation seized an occasion to betray with so much innocent helplessness so many humiliating weaknesses. During the last ten days Americans have watched the two major branches of the government engaged in an altercation at a moment when a complete understanding and cordial coöperation between them were supremely necessary. They have watched a crushing demonstration of the inadequacy of either of the two national parties to supply the country with a responsible national government. They have watched a President who was pledged to work loyally with Congress forced by Congressional invasion of his own prerogatives to place the most drastic and dangerous constraint upon Congressional action. They have watched Congress wince and cringe under the challenge. They have watched the Senate shirk in a cowardly spirit and by means of a despicable subterfuge its plain duty either of frankly supporting the President or of accepting the consequences of a refusal. They have watched the House postpone the day of making a peculiarly critical and momentous decision—one which the whole country was waiting breathless to hear—so that the Congressmen from Indiana could dodge a vote until after the holding of their local primaries. The result of it all will be to undermine still further popular confidence in Congress. The majority of Congressmen are dealing with questions which involve peace and war, the honorable reputation of the nation, its ability to make hereafter its necessary contribution to the civilization of the world in the same spirit and according to the same standards that would determine their vote upon a pension or a river-and-harbor bill. They exhibit themselves as petty political retailers.

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No matter what action Congress takes or how the country escapes or fails to escape from its existing dilemma, intelligent Americans should estimate at its full value the gravity of the recent exposure. The national political system has failed to meet a critical test. The integrity of the nation is being jeopardized. When the executive and the legislature and the two dominant political parties of a country radically disagree about a question of foreign policy involving in the opinion of both sides the national "honor" and security, that country is by way of losing its mental and moral self-possession. The breakdown of the machinery for providing unity of governmental action bespeaks a deep disorganization of spirit. The nation is harboring two hostile views of its immediate obligations and its future destiny. Both are sustained by salient aspects of the national tradition, by powerful economic and class interest, and by great intensity of conviction. The integrity of the nation cannot be restored until this conflict has been fought out and the national consciousness enriched as it was after the Civil War by the sense of a newly achieved and fortified unity of popular aspiration.

The existing conflict is the outcome of the fundamental ambiguity resident in the doctrine of neutral rights and responsibilities. The United States has been for the most part a sincerely pacific nation, whose policy has been intended to make for international amity and good order. There are two methods of carrying out such a policy. The inoffensive pacific nation can keep to itself, scrupulously avoid foreign entanglements, and in the event of war content itself with obeying and enforcing its own laws and the law of nations. Or it can outline a positive policy concerning its relations with foreign powers, which would seek to provide in advance against the danger of war, and which would bring with it some obligation to coöperate with other pacific nations and perhaps to oppose nations who could be convicted of militaristic aggression. The United States has attempted to combine these two contradictory purposes. Its Pan-American policy has sought to organize peace—partly by seeking a cooperative understanding with the other republics of the western hemisphere and partly by announcing its resolution to resist any European aggression in the two Americas. But its peace plans recognized no obligations towards Europe or Asia. In respect to Europe and Asia, American pacifist policy was negative and irresponsible. In respect to the two Americas it was responsible and constructive. It was a geographical pacifism. It assumed that even though Europe and Asia were devastated by war the two Americas under the protection of the United States would remain free from the resulting destruction, carnage and agony.

This traditional American policy was entirely practical as long as wars in Europe and Asia were confined to two antagonists who were isolated in a world at peace and who had every reason to seek neutral sympathy and support. But when a war sucks in all the most powerful and enlightened nations in the world, and when it turns upon controversies which involve the future security of inoffensive and pacific nations, the attempt to promote peace by means of a complacent and punctilious neutrality presents insuperable difficulties. The security of the United States and the other American nations does not depend merely on an organization for joint protection and isolation. The Americas are connected with the rest of the world and to a large extent with one another by the seas. Their security and their ability to work out their own destinies depend upon the power which controls the seas and the kind of law which is administered on the seas in peace and war. They themselves are the creatures of the freedom and certainty of marine communication. They cannot live and thrive except under a system of marine law which protects non-combatants in their right to travel in safety on the ocean during war and which will keep the ocean free from claims to exclusive jurisdiction.

The lesson of the great war for considerate and patriotic Americans is that of the ultimate impossibility, even in respect to Europe and Asia, of irresponsible isolation and dogmatic neutrality. An exclusive Pan-Americanism involves a contradiction in terms. The aspiration resident in the Pan-Americanism must be universalized. Americans must be willing to make the sacrifices to promote general peace just as they have been to promote peace in America. It does not follow that they are under any obligation to plunge into the European war and become entangled in irrelevant European controversies. It does follow that whenever European controversies involve manifest international interests the United States cannot afford to remain satisfied with a dogmatic neutrality. The submarine controversy does involve the fundamental international interest in what is meant by the freedom of the seas and how it is to be maintained and enlarged. It is an international interest, which very particularly concerns the future welfare of the United States and of all the American Powers. If the United States assumes the irresponsible attitude towards the controversy advocated by Mr. Bryan and his followers, it will be blind to its own interest and recreant to its own most fruitful ideals.

The petty personal and partisan games which are being played in Congress at present are disheartening precisely because American hesitation at the present moment is the result of honest and re-

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spectable differences of opinion which deserved franker expression. There are two parties fighting for the possession of the American national conscience. One party, that headed by Mr. Bryan, believes that peace can be brought about by avoiding war and by keeping clear of belligerents. They embody an ancient American tradition, but one which has always been wrong—the tradition of national irresponsibility. Its advocates have persistently sought to keep the national organization weak and the national policy negative. In 1858 its spokesman, Stephen Douglas, proposed to deal with the slavery question just as Senator Gore proposes to deal with the issue of armed merchantmen —that is, by letting the difficulty alone. It gives voice to the easy-going, independent inertia characteristic of a prosperous individualistic democracy. Its opponents, on the other hand, are trying to arouse the American conscience to a sense of new national obligations, just as they did in 1788, in 1858, and in the early years of the progressive movement. They are hampered by uncertainty as to what their own positive program ought to be and by popular ignorance and indifference; but there is no infirmity of purpose. They are convinced as they have been in the past that they are fighting for the moral integrity as well as the practical efficiency of their country. They are seeking to translate the aspirations which, however imperfectly, have moulded its domestic policy into the terms of foreign policy. The recovery by the American nation of its self-possession and self-respect will hang upon their success.

Belgium and the Western World

AN amazing number of people are now very angry at President Wilson for not having protested at the invasion of Belgium. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root and the "federal crowd" in New York and New England are trying to turn this anger into a political issue. It isn't fair play. While it may be true that Mr. Wilson probably missed a splendid opportunity to speak for the conscience of the peaceful world, it is no less true that not a blessed soul of any prominence seems to have thought of protesting while Belgium was being completely overrun. Mr. Roosevelt's first definite utterance on the subject was published in the New York *Times* of November 8, 1914. The war had been raging over three months. Congress was in session all that time. Mr. Root was in the Senate. Not only was there no criticism of Mr. Wilson from him or from the Republicans in those August days when the protest should have been made, but there is no evidence to show that Mr. Root and his followers approved of Mr. Roosevelt's article when it appeared three months later. Mr. Roosevelt was still regarded as a wild man, his article was based on an incorrect reading of the Hague Conventions, and we are half inclined to suspect that most of the people who are in a fury about Mr. Wilson were far from believing in 1914 what they now believe so passionately.

So it isn't fair play to beat the President with the Belgian stick. And yet the feeling about Belgium in America is the noblest feeling of the war. The realization, even though belated on the part of all of us, that we have personal responsibility in the prevention of such crimes is probably the most hopeful bit of education the war has given us. And the fact that some of the leaders of the Republican party are willing to commit themselves to action for an international ideal is an inspiring sign. If instead of pretending that in August, 1914, we were vividly aware of a world citizenship, we could all confess that we have gradually learned something new, Belgium might be almost as important in American as it is certain to be in European history.

The question we ought to be asking ourselves as Americans is this: Since we feel that a world in which a Belgium can be outraged is an intolerable world, what are we to do about that feeling? Surely something more than criticize Mr. Wilson. Surely more than cry over spilt milk. If the emotion that goes out to Belgium is to be anything besides the tears of the impotent, we must be preparing our minds about the future.

What is to be the future of Belgium and what action are we willing to risk for the sake of Belgium? We may take it as settled that Britain and France will never lay down their arms till the Germans are out of Belgium. But then what? Belgium will still be exposed. Belgium cannot alone maintain its independence. Obviously, Belgium will again have to be neutralized, and the Great Powers will have to furnish the guarantee. Great Britain and France for their own safety must share that guarantee. Perhaps Russia will share it, perhaps Italy, but that is not enough. May it not be that the United States should also put its signature to the bond? This is a point on which we should like to hear the opinion of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Root and the Republicans. Isn't this the way to express in practical form the feeling about Belgium? Is it not the only candid conclusion to which those of us who feel deeply about Belgium are driven?

The suggestion is, of course, tentative and it requires careful discussion, for it involves a radical break with our historic isolation. It may be admitted at once that no nation can afford to make such a break without the most searching self-exam-

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ination. To take part in an international guarantee of Belgium would affect our whole foreign policy. It would mean a definite rapprochement with the British Empire and France. We should be assuming a risk not only for Belgium but for them. We should be offering to protect one of the vulnerable spots in the defenses of England and France. With the United States as one of the guarantors of Belgium, the real international character of the neutralization would be made clear. The contention which we have never taken seriously, that Belgium was to be used as a gateway to Germany, would have even less excuse than it has now. Germany could hardly maintain that the United States was guaranteeing Belgium in order to find a way of invading Germany. On the other hand, our presence in Belgium would give us an authoritative way of knowing the trustworthiness of Belgian neutrality. In the most exact sense Belgium would then be held in trust for the world. But America could not take so great a responsibility in Europe, unless there were some corresponding advantage. We can dare to do an unprecedented international act only if it does not endanger too greatly our own safety. Is it not possible that in return for our guarantee in Belgium, Great Britain and France would make a definite pledge about the safety of Pan-America? It may be that Belgium can be the center of a bargain worthy of three self-respecting Powers.

In other words, on a system of reciprocal guarantees might be built a solid entente of the western democracies. An entente of the British Empire, the French Republic, and Pan-America would create the largest area of unified liberalism that the world has ever known. The five self-governing dominions, the French Republic, the United States, and the three or four stronger Latin Republics, with perhaps Italy added, would be a nucleus of world organization. If once a regenerate Germany could be attached to it, there would be such liberal security in the world as mankind has never experienced.

It is a grandiose scheme and a difficult one, but where else are men to put their faith? Surely not in armed and isolated irresponsibility, the path we are now pursuing, for that is the path of disorder. Put forward in a periodical, the vision of democratic unity must inevitably seem unreal. But if once political leaders in America spoke for such a vision it would be weighed the world over. Do they dare to face the judgment of history without some such vision? Are they content to preach about Belgium without facing the consequences? If they don't mean an entente of the western world, what do they mean when they tell us that we have failed in our duty to Belgium?

Let Justice Hughes Declare Himself

JUSTICE HUGHES is being placed in an extraordinarily difficult position, caught so to speak between two very respectable traditions. There is the tradition of the Supreme Court which says that a man entering it must give up all thought of any other position. It is summed up in the aphorism that "a justice of the Supreme Court who seeks the Presidency is fit neither for the office he holds nor the one to which he aspires." But there is another tradition deep in American feeling which says that no man has the right to refuse a call from the people. Out of this conflict arises the dilemma in which Justice Hughes finds himself. This does not mean that there are not more human considerations entering into his decision. Mr. Hughes being a man is probably not moved by "traditions" alone; the conflict between his love of the bench and his sense of the opportunity that belongs to the President no doubt plays a rôle in his thinking.

But the conflict of tradition is sufficient to explain the ambiguity of his present attitude. For it is ambiguous. He has not withdrawn his name as unmistakably as Mr. Garrison did. Justice Hughes knows that there is a lively movement on foot to nominate him at Chicago. He knows that he could stop that movement completely if he wished to. But he has not chosen to do that. Instead he has made it perfectly clear that he is not seeking the nomination, and that personally he is "not in politics." But he is permitting his friends to go ahead on the assumption that if the convention calls him he will accept. In other words he is sincerely trying to abide by both traditions—refusing to seek the office and refusing to make it impossible for the office to seek him.

It would be a dull person who didn't appreciate his difficulty. But there is something greater at stake in this election than personal feeling or historic tradition. The country has a right to demand that the views of the candidates on all great questions be made perfectly clear. It cannot wait till after the nomination to find out what the nominee thinks about the issues of the day. For in this election Americans dare not choose in the dark.

Justice Hughes should declare himself in the next few weeks. He should either stop the agitation for him, or announce his candidacy and resign from the bench. He owes that to the nation. It is a demand which comes not alone from his political enemies trying to "smoke him out," but from his admirers and friends who feel that the ambiguity of his position to-day is injuring the Presidency, the Court, and Mr. Hughes himself.

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Education for Work

THE urgency of vocational education in this country has been immensely reinforced during the past few years by the rapidly growing social solicitude for child welfare. Child-labor laws, compulsory education, minimum wage, children's courts, welfare bureaus, devised primarily as mere protective agencies for the weaker and less self-defensible members of the community, are now suddenly seen to involve a host of positive social responsibilities. We are recognizing that the state has a duty not only to save the younger generation from exploitation, premature labor and demoralizing environments, but also to give it every possible opportunity to be trained for an effective vocation. In particular, the recent raising of the age limit for child labor in many of the states, by keeping in school thousands of children who would otherwise have passed out to work, has put a great strain upon the public school. The challenge so far has done little else than make evident an alarming inadequacy of the present type of school to train children for the work which they will shortly be called upon to do. The school systems of the large northern cities are having thrust upon them great numbers of children for whose education, in this new sense of the word, they are unprepared. And the burden and urgency is one that will increase rather than diminish.

This is one of the lessons of a document like the recent admirable report of the Minneapolis Survey for Vocational Education, made last year under the auspices of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. It would be difficult to advise reading more important for educator, employer and employee than this cross-section of the skilled-labor life of a great American city, looked at with a view to vocational guidance. In Minneapolis all the conditions were at their best for such a social laboratory experiment. The rapid growth of manufacturing and the unusually high proportion of skilled industries make the demand for the training of workers paramount. The stringent state laws require attendance at school until the age of sixteen or the completion of the entire elementary course. The city has a school system of high traditional excellence. Clearly all the factors that would stimulate a campaign for vocational education are here in their most exacting form.

The analysis here given of the training which the manufacturing and mechanical industries require for their various skilled positions, the training which public schools and special schools are purporting to give, the increase in resources which school and shop will have to make to meet the social demands made upon them—all this will be found typical in greater or less degree throughout the country. The most general impression one gets from the Survey is of industrial unpreparedness. The public school is seen not with its usual fault as an institution of general education which has ignored pre-vocational needs, but as a pre-vocational school of narrow and exclusive type, for the vocational training of the classes in the community whose actual need was least. For above the earlier years of rudimentary schooling there has been superimposed a bookish school which is really a pre-vocational school for the professions or for domestic leisure. The boys and girls whose futures were to be professional and domestic had the benefit of the public school. The vast majority, the motor-minded and those whose aptitudes were not intellectual, very properly and automatically left this bookish school as soon as they had obtained their rudimentary general education. When the state suddenly refuses to allow these children to leave the school until they have finished the elementary course, the school system is faced with the necessity of broadening itself from a narrow pre-vocational school for the professions to a pre-vocational school for all the industries and arts of the modern community. The smatterings of wood-working and domestic science which the city schools have introduced are shown not to have broadened the school in the least. Even the technical courses in the high schools have quite failed to meet the problem. Of the recent graduates from these courses in the Minneapolis schools it is shown that one-half went directly to college, only one-tenth passing into occupations for which the course could in any way be regarded as preparatory. Most of these students, moreover, went into drafting rooms. It may be said therefore that to the training of the great artisan class of such a modern and progessive city the public schools have contributed practically nothing. A typically American progressive school system with all its technical and manual accessories is shown functioning at its very highest limit as a pre-vocational school, not for skilled labor, but for the professions and what the Survey suggestively calls the " commissioned officers of industry."

The industries themselves, however, are found to be no more adequately engaged than the school in training their own workers. Apprenticeship has all but died out, and among neither employers nor employees is there any enthusiasm for its return. Yet although all the trades require a constant supply of trained workers, no substitute has yet been found for apprenticeship. The movement for industrial education has at times seemed like an attempt of employers to get their skilled workers trained at public expense. The effort to establish separate

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boards in the cities for industrial education threatened to limit such training to the narrow skill which each industry would demand and to supply employers with apprentices at no cost to the industry itself. Fortunately the Minneapolis Survey warns against this narrow and sinister conception of vocational education. Industrial interests cannot shirk the responsibility for the special training of their workers. The rapid growth of "corporation schools" shows that at least the most prosperous and highly skilled shops and factories are accepting this responsibility. All the employer has a right to demand is that the school give the young worker a general pre-vocational training which will introduce him to the special trade work. The graduate of the elementary school should have been through a well rounded course which not only cultivated a general intelligence, but discovered, by submitting him to many different kinds of activity, his particular flair or knack, and thus enlisted his interest in further training for a particular vocation.

The elementary school should, in other words, be a general pre-vocational school, where the boy or girl could get a bearing towards every type of vocation. The Survey strikingly confirms the far-sighted vision of William Wirt and his unspecialized and varied Gary school in which the children from their earliest years are testing out their powers in shop and foundry and laboratory and studio and classroom. "What is needed," it says, "is not a course in special woodworking—the extent of manual work in most elementary schools of the present time—but rather organized training in practical arts which will include a variety of experiences fundamental to the life of the community. Woodwork, metal work, printing and bookbinding, clay modelling, concrete and electrical work, are some of the industries which give an opportunity for experience in certain fundamental processes which are most valuable to boys without respect to the occupation in which they may later engage."

In the last year of the elementary school, or in the years of the junior high school, more specialized technical courses could be introduced. For the advanced work, more and more responsibility should be thrown on the shop, the school providing the background of theory, the shop the practical application, and the student alternating between shop and school as in the so-called coöperative course. For the workers already engaged, part-time continuation classes are advised, with "dull-season classes," and evening trade-extension courses. For these the various special schools in the city, commercial and technical, could coöperate. In this correlation of shop and school a new form of apprenticeship would grow up. The Survey reports trade agreements already worked out in several trades which provide that after two years of high-school instruction in practical, technical and academic subjects, the worker will be placed in the occupation at wages equal to those of a third-year apprentice. The agreements require the approval of the union, and the employers agree to use the school as the first source of supply in engaging new workers.

On some such constructive lines as are suggested in this Minneapolis Survey will the problems of vocational education be worked out. In its discussion of such topics as home gardening, office work, art education, domestic service, the Survey suggests the breadth of the field to be covered. An ideal system of vocational training would not only give every boy and girl in the school an opportunity to find an aptitude and cultivate some skill but it would make possible the training of "non-commissioned officers" in the industrial army. The education of such leaders will really be the goal of organized vocational education. As the industries, trades and occupations become more technical and more scientifically managed, the demand for administrative, supervisory, directive and planning officers taken from the ranks is constantly widening. Efficient management is becoming recognized as almost the most important factor in production, and management will be the reward for intelligence and skill. Until we have an educational system which in coöperation with shop and factory gives fullest opportunities for each child in the schools to work towards qualifying as such a "non-commissioned officer" in some occupation of the social army, we shall not have our democratic school or our framework for the future democratization of industry. Nor shall we be able to attack those mountainous problems of unskilled labor which no system of vocational training can touch.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1916, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

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Russia Against Turkey

IN dealing with the campaign of the Caucasus and Mesopotamia it must not be forgotten that the Turks have no railways east of Angora. It is a mistake commonly made to suppose that the Bagdad Railway is in existence. The Bagdad Railway is still a dream, and I am informed from German sources that the few miles of track already laid east of Aleppo were torn up over a year ago to be used on the Sinai peninsula in the Beersheba region, because no rails could be imported into Turkey. The British below Bagdad possess river transport, while the Russians have a military railhead at Sary Kamish on their Transcaucasian border. Therefore the Turks are at an immense disadvantage, even for a defensive campaign, since they have only wagon roads to depend on.

The Turkish lines of communication are as follows: From their main base, Angora, where the railroad ends, there is a good road, which is also the line of a projected railway, to their secondary base, the town of Sivas. Thence the roads—and projected railways—continue as follows:

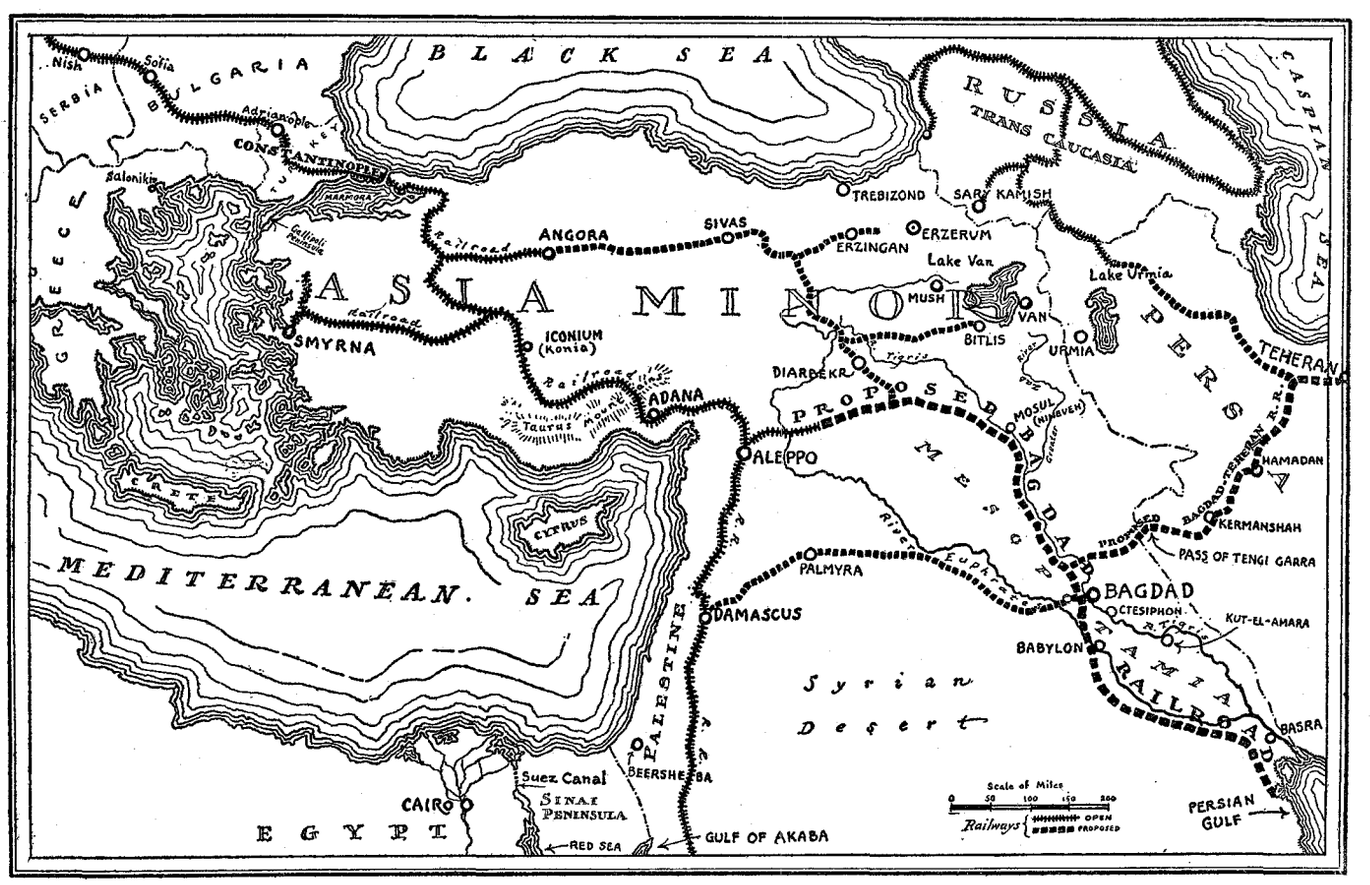
1. Angora-Sivas-Erzingan-Erzerum.
2. Angora-Sivas-Diarbekr-Bitlis-Van.
3. Angora-Sivas-Diarbekr-Mosul-Bagdad.

The Turkish Mesopotamian forces possess the following line of communications also:

1. Aleppo-Mosul-Bagdad.
2. Damascus-Palmyra-Bagdad.

These routes, however, are merely caravan trails across a sandy desert incapable of supporting organized forces. Again, no railways are built through this desert. In passing it should be added that the port of Trebizond—seat of the last vestiges of the Roman Empire—is a place of no military importance. It is connected by only a mountain trail with Erzingan, and furthermore it is blockaded by Russian naval control of the Black Sea.

The conclusion cannot be avoided that it is the line Angora-Sivas-Diarbekr-Mosul-Bagdad on which the Turks depend, and which they must hold at all costs. Maps are not always interesting, but in this case the map is well worth consideration, for it is upon holding this line, Angora-Sivas-Diarbekr-Mosul-Bagdad, that the control of the great eastern empires of antiquity—Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Babylon and Nineveh—depends to-day. The fall of Diarbekr and Mosul—where Nineveh's ruins still scorch beneath a tropic sun—would mean the expulsion, probably final, of the Turks from the



LINES OF COMMUNICATION IN ASIA MINOR AND PERSIA

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scene of their earliest victories. The fall of Diarbekr and Mosul would mean the capture of the Turkish Mesopotamian army, or else its forced retreat over hundreds of miles of arid sand wastes to Aleppo and Damascus. Moreover the roving Arab tribes of the desert, who have been promiscuously shooting at the wounded on both sides, would make any disorganized retreat through their country the occasion for a series of raids and massacres. The position of the Turkish forces in the Tigris valley, from Mosul through Bagdad to Kut-el-Amara, has been very seriously threatened by the victory of General Judenich at Erzerum.

Unfortunately for the Russians, the difficulties of the terrain and the consequent difficulties of infantry and artillery transport are almost insuperable. This is a campaign where cavalry must play such a part as cavalry has not played since the Civil War, a campaign of unexpected marches and surprise attacks, a campaign where such a leader as General Forrest would be invaluable. According to Russian official reports the whole circumference of Lake Van has been cleared of the enemy. Bitlis, which was indicated as the next objective of General Judenich's campaign, is now in Russian hands.

But one thing appears fairly certain: the general direction of the Russian movement will be southwest from their present positions. Columns from Urmia in Persia, from Van, from Bitlis, are likely to advance slowly toward the valleys of the Greater Zab and Upper Tigris rivers, and thence down those valleys to converge against Mosul. Also the columns from Hamadan which have taken Kermanshah will menace Bagdad ultimately by way of the Tengi Garra Pass. Whether there will also be a swinging movement further north—a movement which might include as objectives both the cities of Erzingan and Diarbekr—cannot now be prophesied. But the line which is threatened, the line Diarbekr-Mosul-Bagdad, is the main line of communications of the Turkish Mesopotamian army.

In face of such a threat, from a purely military point of view, the Turkish armies between Bagdad and Kut ought to begin their retreat at once. But in that case the Ottoman Empire, together with the German Empire, its patron, would lose Mesopotamia, the storehouse of the elder world, the original place in the sun. It is therefore likely that the Turks will try to stay and fight it out.

The political future of Enver Pasha depends, like the future of most statesmen among the belligerents, on the issues of victory or defeat. The Germans probably can and must maintain him in power in Constantinople, if necessary by force of arms. Meanwhile old scattered units must be reorganized, and fresh troops advanced along the Angora-Sivas-Diarbekr-Mosul-Bagdad line. Diarbekr and Mosul must be strongly held. The forces of General Lake, constantly reinforced from the Persian Gulf, must be held back south of Kut.

Compared with the difficulties of the Turks, the difficulties of the Russians and British are plain sailing. On all sides immense armies on the modern plan are operating in a country where rail and telegraph facilities do not exist, but the Russians and the British have the advantage of such facilities of communication as do exist. Their rail or sea bases, Sary Kamish and Basra, although about two hundred miles behind them, are two hundred miles nearer the scene of war than any Turkish base. They have the advantage, on a different scale, which Hindenburg enjoyed in his campaigns against the Grand Duke Nicholas, but that advantage should be just as much the vital factor in Asia Minor as in Poland. The chances of war are all against the Turks.

And it is indeed a curious historical commentary that one of the decisive positions in a war which still threatens Paris should be Mosul, where the ruins of Nineveh still exist.

GERALD MORGAN.

New Leadership in the Law

IN electing Roscoe Pound the Dean of its Law School, Harvard has chosen a man who is not only fit to continue the splendid tradition of Langdell and Ames, but, what is still better, one who is bound to create a new and vital tradition on his own account. Scholars may debate whether the new Dean has Langdell's power of seemingly unanswerable logical analysis, or Ames's rare combination of logical subtlety with creative historical imagination. But for all-round thorough mastery of the law in all its branches and phases, including Roman and modern European law as well as our own legislation and common law, Professor Pound has set a new standard of legal scholarship.

Scholarship is an unfortunate and much misunderstood term. It suggests to most people insensibility to immediate vital interests and a morbid preference for things long dead. Hence, though people generally admit that scholarship has some value, they think of it as a necessary evil. Nor is this view altogether unfounded. Scholarship does withdraw men from the common life, and frequently distorts their perspective of it. The man who spends years as do our Ph.D. candidates, on a topic sufficiently minute to have escaped the attention of all previous writers, cannot help attaching undue importance to the subject matter of his particular investigation. The outside world knows that while the thorough mastery of details may be

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the beginning of wisdom, it is not or ought not be its end. But art is long while life is short, and most of those who set out with the ideal of scholarly mastery of details have to quit the scene before they have learned the bare alphabet in which life's problems are written. Only rarely does a scholar arise who is not only able to dig out the stones of learning but who knows how to put them together to make a more commodious home for the human spirit. Anglo-American legal scholarship has produced very few men of this type, but Roscoe Pound is surely one of them.

The sea of legal learning is deep and wide, and most difficult of navigation are many of its currents. Much wasted experience has persuaded legal scholars that it is futile to pay attention to philosophers, sociologists or political scientists who, on the basis of some distant glimpse, attempt to chart the whole of that difficult sea. It is easy to convert past failures into dogmas. Hence the prevailing attitude among legal scholars that the consideration of the aim of the law falls in the hazy realms of philosophy and politics, outside the proper domain of accurate legal scholarship. Professor Pound, however, has been convinced that a general view of the law, its function, resources and limitations, is indispensable for a sound administration of justice, the end for which law and law schools exist. To this end he seems in a most astonishing way—for a man who, though still in the forties, has been teacher, captain of militia actually engaged in an Indian war, botanist, practising lawyer and judge—to have utilized all the available legal and extra-legal sources. So thoroughly has he worked both on details and on principles that his utterances command the highest respect of the hard-headed practical lawyers who compose our various bar associations, as well as the despairing admiration of those devotees of general views who form the Conference on Legal and Social Philosophy. The mere attempt at so thorough and comprehensive a view of the law as an integral part of life would have been a notable achievement, apart from any specific results.

Thorough legal scholars have never fully subscribed to the loud proclamation of the politician-lawyers that our law is the embodiment of perfect reason and justice, the envy of all peoples, etc. But legal scholars have always tended to regard the main features of the traditional common law as fixed principles by which human affairs must eternally be governed. Even as keen and sensitive a mind as Ames's viewed the distinction between equitable and common-law remedies as something inherent in the very nature of things, which no demands of justice or social need could override. One of the achievements of Professor Pound is to have challenged this dogma of the finality of the common law "as the beginning of wisdom and the eternal jural order." Law is a means, not an end. The end is justice between living human beings here and now, and as social conditions change, the law must keep pace. Our law received its present form in a rural economy uncomplicated by conditions of extreme inequality, where there was little need or, considering how widely people were scattered, little opportunity for governmental interference. But in our modern industrial society "the whole scheme of individual [legal] initiative is breaking down." "Private [criminal] prosecution has become obsolete. Mandamus and injunction have failed to prevent rings and bosses from plundering public funds. Private suits against carriers for damage have proved no preventive of discrimination and extortionate rates. The doctrine of assumption of risk becomes brutal under modern conditions of employment. An action for damages is no comfort to us when we are sold diseased beef or poisonous canned goods. At all these points common law methods of relief have failed." Professor Pound calls attention to the fact "that in the intervals of work the farmer remote from the distractions of city life found his theater in the court house and looked to politics and litigation for amusement." Hence arose what he calls the sporting theory of justice. "The common law theory of litigation is that of a fair fist-fight, according to the canons of the manly art, with a court to see fair play and prevent interference. We strive in every way to restrain the trial judge and to insure the individual litigants a fair fight, unhampered by mere considerations of justice. To give them this fair play we sacrifice public time and money; incidentally also—for if all men are equal, their pocketbooks are not—giving certain litigants a conspicuous advantage in reality, through a theoretical equality." "The individual, in short, gets so much fair play that the public gets very little."

Popular dissatisfaction with the administration of justice in this country has in the past decade found a good deal of rather crude expression, and some of our legal muckrakers have made the judicious grieve by the dishonesty of their reports. But they are poor doctors who become vexed with their patient because he makes a wrong diagnosis of what is really troubling him or suggests an unscientific remedy. Professor Pound has been very outspoken in regard to cheap diagnosis and worse remedies, but he has always kept in mind that "in large part this dissatisfaction has a real basis and is well founded." Whenever and wherever things go wrong, popular habit attributes it to "bad" men—"bosses," "reactionary judges," etc.—and seeks for ways of getting rid of them. Pound has shown that the fundamental difficulty with our ad-

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ministration of justice has its roots in our national tradition and organization—the individualistic tradition of our bills of rights which up to recently held almost complete sway, and our judicial organization "whereby the administration of the law for urban communities is reviewed and dictated by men who have no experience or knowledge of the social problems of those communities." "Both by bills of rights and by separation of powers and checks and balances, the eighteenth century sought to hold down all the activities of government. On the contrary, the conditions of city life call upon us to set them free and to make government an instrument of securing social interests which are endangered by individual freedom of action." The old law has been defended on the ground that it makes for self-reliant character. But this, he has shown, is not historically or actually true. The old tradition simply serves now "to stand between our laboring population and oppression." To persist in applying the individualist philosophy of our common law to modern urban and industrial conditions is reckless and cruel injustice.

"Law," Langdell once said, "is to be found in books"; and that has been the basis of the improved as well as the old system of legal education. Roscoe Pound is, so far as I know, the first legal scholar to direct attention to the fact that the cases reported in printed books represent the law as it is only for those who can afford the expense of long litigation culminating in appeal. For the great mass of our urban population law is administered by police and municipal courts. The amount of money involved in a case may determine the lawyer's fee, but not the inherent importance of the matter in controversy to the parties. Two weeks' wages may be less than twenty-five dollars and still be of greater importance to the worker's family than a debt of a million is to the United States Steel Corporation. Yet our whole legal system has its energy directed to the higher courts, and the judge of our lower court is frequently an "oriental cadi administering justice at the city gate by the light of nature tempered by the state of his digestion for the time being." It is a denial of justice to make poor people hire lawyers, and "it is a shame to drive them to legal aid societies to get as a charity what the state should give as a right." The lower courts are entitled to judges just as good as those sent to the highest.

The public is vitally affected by the work of our law schools, for it is they "that preserve our old legal philosophy and prevent the best educated of our Bar from being children of the present." "So long as the one object is to train practitioners who can make money at the Bar, and so long as schools are judged chiefly by their success in affording such training, we may expect nothing better."

The modern teacher of law "should know not only what the courts decide and the principles by which they decide, but quite as much the circumstances and conditions, social and economic, to which these principles are to be applied; he should know the state of popular thought and feeling which makes the environment in which the principles must operate in practise. Legal monks who pass their lives in an atmosphere of pure law, from which every worldly and human element is excluded, cannot shape practical principles to be applied to a restless world of flesh and blood."

Langdell revolutionized the teaching of law and raised the standard of the legal profession by insisting on the simple principle that law is a science. Mr. Pound is sure to produce an equally important and beneficent revolution by insisting on the more obvious principle that law is a social science.

MORRIS R. COHEN.

Labor's Position on Woman Suffrage

UNTIL a year ago almost no one questioned the position of organized labor with regard to equal suffrage. It has long been one of the primary political demands of the organized labor movement. On June 7th, 1915, President Gompers restated the attitude of the American Federation of Labor, saying that the matter was one of common justice; that "any proposition that denies to all human beings of a given age equal rights and equal opportunities is unjust." Most of the labor leaders are staunch advocates of the equal suffrage principle. It is inseparable from the trade-union philosophy, and the labor movement in America fought for it when the roll-call of present day suffrage organizations could not muster a corporal's guard.

During the recent session of the Minnesota legislature equal suffrage failed in the senate by just one vote. On the heels of the action of the legislature the Minnesota Federation of Labor, after having supported equal suffrage for years, refused to adopt a resolution approving it. The bill for a constitutional amendment submitting the question to the people will probably pass at the next session, and if equal suffrage becomes established, organized labor in that state, because of what the baseball fan terms a "bone-headed play," will be robbed of the credit it could have won by consistent advocacy of a principle to which it had been committed.

The *Labor Review* of Minneapolis upholds the action of the State Federation of Labor because of the fear that the women, if given the ballot, will hasten the cause of prohibition, which, they claim,

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would result in increased unemployment. A Socialist weekly excuses it on the ground that "trade unionists apparently still resent woman in industry as an intrusion, and are unwilling she should have the same weapon of defense in the struggle as they have, that is, the ballot." The officers of the Federation as well as its official organ have been reticent so far as a public statement is concerned, but these reasons are typical of those given by trade unionists who favor the change in attitude.

The philosophy upon which trade unionism is based includes the principle of equal political rights regardless of sex. The existing social system, which forces woman to take a place in the front ranks in the battle lines of industry, has brought moral and economic problems of growing complexity. In industry there is keen competition between the sexes, and we cannot close our eyes to the fact that thousands of women are forced to do men's work at a wage far less than sufficient. Women are invited to affiliate with most trade unions on an equal basis with men. They pay the same membership dues and are entitled to like benefits. There is a continuous campaign for the formation of women's union-label leagues to assist in strengthening the unions by demanding goods bearing the stamp of organized labor. These leagues are powerful, their work in support of the labor movement is effective. Influence with merchants through the purchasing power is direct and telling, and unions are strongest where goods bearing the label are in demand. Women's work in upbuilding the movement in this respect is quite as effective as that of the men. Economic questions in the final analysis are political questions, and the rights of woman must be recognized to the end that these problems shall be solved by all who are affected by them. This, I believe, outlines the reasons why the labor movement favors equal suffrage and the American Federation of Labor has never abandoned it.

Plausible explanation for the apparent change in sentiment on the part of some of the members of organized labor with respect to the suffrage question is not hard to find.

Before me is a copy of the *Iron City Trades Journal,* the official organ of the Central Trades Council of Pittsburgh. It records the proceedings of the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor in Harrisburg early in the summer. "The battle on the floor of the convention," says the *Journal,* "was enlivened by the presence of Mrs. J. D. Oliphant, who tried to get the antis' case before the delegates. Half a dozen representatives of the unions connected with the liquor industries fought hard in her behalf, but the chair ruled that only recognized delegates should be granted the floor to discuss the suffrage resolution." The suffrage resolution was finally endorsed by a vote of 154 to 48. No attempt was made to conceal the reason for the negative votes. It was argued that women would vote for prohibition and that prohibition would make for unemployment. In this same convention the bartenders' representatives went so far as to object to the white badges selected by the officers for the delegates because "white was the color of the prohibitionists."

The resolution approving equal suffrage was lost in the Minnesota convention by a vote of 113 to 84. There the wets had a firmer hold on the delegates. It is openly charged that the liquor forces, acting through the labor organizations affiliated with that industry, caused the defeat of the suffrage resolution in the New Jersey Federation of Labor this year, and that they were especially anxious to accomplish this prior to the state-wide vote on suffrage last October. It will invariably be found that in these conventions, particularly during the past few years, unions affiliated with the liquor industry have been represented by a full quota of delegates, while organizations with as large a membership could afford to send but one. This is strikingly true of Minnesota.

A rupture recently took place between two factions in the labor movement at Peoria and Bloomington, Illinois, which formerly celebrated Labor Day together. The wet Peoria element, led by the Distillery Workers' union with a limited membership of seventeen, broke away from the Bloomington faction and held its exercises at Al Fresno park in Peoria. The drys in Bloomington engaged Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to make the principal address, while the Peoria faction invited former Mayor David S. Rose, of Milwaukee, who for years past has been lecturing in the interest of the liquor trust, and whose record while in public office was so obnoxious to the principles of trade unionism as to stamp him its arch enemy. It can be safely assumed that Mr. Rose did not espouse the suffrage cause. Mr. Morrison is one of its most ardent champions.

The influence of the liquor interests can be seen in the published proceedings of almost every labor convention. Despite the fight the American Federation of Labor has waged for the freedom of speech and liberty of the press, unions affiliated with the liquor industry have time and again withdrawn their support from trade-union publications merely because these papers have dared to print both sides of the argument. I have personal knowledge of a recent case where the bartenders' union sought to bring about the expulsion of a member of a central body who supported a candidate for political office pledged to enforce the liquor laws. Sub-

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sequently the delegate who preferred the charges on two different occasions pleaded guilty when arrested for maintaining a "blind pig" at the headquarters of his union. Liquor interests are so arrogant in many legislative assemblies that no legislation however meritorious can have their support if the author is opposed to the liquor traffic and votes his convictions. There is a tendency in some of the delegated bodies of organized labor to apply the same rule. Let a dry delegate present a resolution on practically any subject of interest to organized labor, and a growing element will oppose the measure, not because it lacks merit but because the author has in some manner offended the liquor faction. It is not difficult to discover the liquor interests at work in the organized labor movement. Their object is plain. They oppose equal suffrage believing it to be dangerous from the standpoint of the liquor business. For this reason they are attempting to induce trade unionism to repudiate a principle for which it has fought and bled during the last twenty-five years. They are seeking an alliance with union labor for the purpose of using the machinery of the organization to pull their own political chestnuts out of the fire.

Will the rank and file of trade unionists permit this partnership to obtain?

The following is taken from the Galesburg, Illinois, *Labor News,* and serves to indicate the direction of the wind in the ranks of organized labor: "We need organization, but the sooner the labor movement and the labor press divorces itself from the liquor business, the quicker real organization will become possible. Our movement advocates the education, the elevation of our membership, the securing of better conditions and wages for our membership. We cannot secure them by affiliating with the greatest power against them." Many trade-union journals and dozens of the best known labor leaders in America have come out openly for prohibition. According to the *Plumbers' Journal* the liquor interests are finding out that "a lot of men who drink whiskey won't vote for it." The locomotive engineers, 70,000 strong, have gone on record for the abolition of the liquor traffic. The desperate nature of the struggle makes necessary unusual efforts on the part of labor leaders to keep in the true channels. It is labor's adherence to the principles that mark those channels which has brought it to its position of influence in America.

Henry James's Quality

ALTHOUGH it was Henry James's good fortune, until almost the end of his life, to keep coming nearer and nearer mastery of his special world as it grew richer and more intricate and harder to master, yet this world was ever the same place of tradition and appearances, of relations and perception.

We have found out something about a writer when we have noticed his attitude toward love or time. The lapse of time was told to Rossetti by the sea's sound, which men have always heard and always will hear. Nothing so unchangeable spoke of time to Henry James. He did not feel it as either an island in eternity or as a path into the future. Time interests him because it has given their tone to pleasant houses set in English country and English leisure, or looking down at Italian cities, because it enables man to make a long stay in one spot, because it obliterates rawness and newness. For him it is the maker of tradition, without which he does not conceive life as possible in the high manner and on the great scale.

With tradition he knew from the first how to deal so well that even for him the chances were slight of his learning to deal with it better. One might say almost as much about his way of dealing with appearances. From the Florentine or Roman landscape in "The Portrait of a Lady" (1881) to the Venetian landscape in "The Wings of the Dove" (1902) the progress is less obvious than from the earlier to the later picture of personal relations. The later landscapes are more brilliant, more achieved, more done, but their superiority shows even more sharply in the use Henry James puts them to, as matching or illustrating something in human character or predicament or mood. His later fullness of power over the external world is revealed with splendor in those large metaphors which rise above the horizon and flush the consciousness of his men and women with unforgettable color. The Princess, in "The Golden Bowl," is looking in through the window at the table where her father is sitting, and her husband and the woman who is her father's wife and her husband's mistress. She wonders why "she had been able to give herself so little, from the first, to the vulgar heat of her wrong. She might fairly, as she watched them, have missed it as a lost thing; have yearned for it, for the straight vindictive view, the rights of resentment, the rages of jealousy, the protests of passion, as for something she had been cheated of not least: a range of feelings which for many women

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would have meant so much, but which for *her* husband's wife, for *her* father's daughter, figured nothing nearer to experience than a wild eastern caravan, looming into view with crude colors in the sun, fierce pipes in the air, high spears against the sky, all a thrill, a natural joy to mingle with, but turning off short before it reached her and plunging into other defiles."

As a man whose use of words has always told his curiosity about them, and whose patience gains a knowledge of their original meaning, comes little by little to use them so as to bring out their shyer and less audible tones, so Henry James's insight into human relations grew more penetrating, and his invention of ways to render what he saw grew almost as much.

Readers who agree in rating his latest novels higher than his earlier would also, I suppose, agree in saying that nowhere has he created more complicated and exquisite relations, nowhere has he explored them more exhaustively, than in "The Awkward Age," "The Wings of the Dove," "The Ambassadors" and "The Golden Bowl." In each of these books his main concern is with "the great constringent human relation between man and woman at once at its maximum and as the relation most worth while in life for either party." The quotation is from a lecture he gave in 1912, when he said also that in "The Ring and the Book" Browning offered us this relation "always and ever as the thing absolutely most worth while." Ten years earlier, in an essay on d'Annunzio, he had said of sexual passion: "From the moment it depends on itself alone for its beauty it endangers extremely its distinction, so precarious at the best. . . . What the participants do with their agitation, in short, or even what it does with them, *that* is the stuff of poetry, and it is never really interesting save when something finely contributive in themselves makes it so."

For Henry James nothing so endangered this passion's distinction as facility, as the loose easy dirigibility of its turnings from mistress to mistress, from lover to lover. Its justification, its beauty and dignity, must be missing unless the fire were lighted before one altar only, unless it burned there with an intensity that gave promise of its being perpetual. So deep a distrust of facility is also a positive need, felt by him on behalf of his men and women in love, of obstacles and difficulties across the way to complete possession. He has not painted for us the passion which is free to begin and to continue in the open, which travels the beaten road of marriage under the indifferent approving eyes of all the world. He seems to regard the maximum of intensity as impossible where there is neither danger nor any reason for secrecy.

According to the more usual opinion a passion that has its reasons for secrecy can almost never escape baseness. In Henry James we are often invited to feel that the necessary sacrifices, of scruple, of good faith, of elementary straightness and rightness of relation precisely where the lovers are most bound to go straight, serve to measure the passion's intensity and to justify the lovers in giving right of way to their central loyalty. Any one's moral code, no matter what else it consists of, is sure to contain an article forbidding us to treat a human being as a convenience, and another forbidding us to pretend while doing this that we are doing something else. Both articles are violated in the four novels I have named, but to call the result merely base and cruel would be absurd. The price paid is high: it is not exorbitant. In the moral world which Henry James cares for, the lovers somehow save their dignity by being imaginative and considerate, by being above all what he most wanted to have them, "distinguished" through their prodigious ability to perceive. Deeds are to be estimated, he would have us understand, largely by the kind of existence they have in the doer's consciousness. A doing wrong which is accompanied and conditioned by the most sensitive perception of other people's spiritual needs may easily be a richer moral good than a strict straight road of obvious duty, followed by plodders who are insensitive, unperceiving, blinded and benumbed by the mere weary miles of their march.

Nearly everything ministers to the distinction of Henry James's men and women, their surfaces, their bodily felicity, their capacity for being refined by joy and by torment, yet one thing, throughout each of his four supreme novels, wages against this distinction a most curious war. I refer to that remorseless inquisitiveness which satisfies itself, for our enlightenment no less than for the inquisitor's own, but terribly more to our perplexity than to theirs, by questions of which the explicit insistence is hard to reconcile with any remotest regard for the questioners' own notions of distinction. And remarkable indeed, as a measure of the extent to which Henry James can make us care for the things he specially cares for, is the fact that we resent less the almost universal failure of everybody to act upon wishes not understood and appraised with unreal clearness by the wishers, than we resent that persistent questioning so oddly offered to us by their creator as no violation of their own high code.

Each of his later novels is peopled by protagonists who watch themselves and one another, and by minor characters who watch the protagonists sleeplessly. They are not more interested than I, these minor characters, in the great relation we are study-

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ing together with such minuteness, yet their preoccupation makes me as uneasy as I might be on finding, while reading a breathless detective story, that the author had introduced several persons whose chief function was to sit up half the night in order to finish it.

The presence of these vigilant questioning satellites, in three of Henry James's greatest novels, has the additional disadvantage of leaving the protagonists without enough of such companionship as they would naturally desire and have. Except for "the great constringent relation" which absorbs them, and for the other relations which most sharply conflict with it, Merton Densher and the Prince, Maggie and Charlotte Sant and Kate Croy, strike one as leading lives that are strangely lacking in adequate friendships. Only in "The Awkward Age," in the society where we meet Nanda and Mrs. Brook, Mitchy and Vanderbank, do the companionable elements seem as richly supplied as the others. Nothing in "The Awkward Age" is finer than the relation, in "The Wings of the Dove," of Kate Croy and Milly and Densher, or than the relation of Maggie to her father in "The Golden Bowl." But the world of "The Awkward Age" has more dimensions, it is more populous, more of the inhabitants are worthy to breathe its air. One likes to remember that Henry James came in the end to understand the position of this masterpiece. Only two years ago he wrote, in "The New Novel": "It is no less apparent that the novel may be fundamentally *organized*—such things as 'The Egoist' and 'The Awkward Age' are there to prove it." I am glad that he had this feeling about what he had done, and that he did not leave us ignorant of a self-estimate in which he must have found consolation and reward.

P. L.

Form in Free Verse

FREE verse is no longer an experiment, no longer even a new movement. Nearly every modern poet uses it either exclusively or in addition to its counterpart, regular verse. For what it can do it is accepted. It has become a recognized medium of literary expression. At the same time one is aware of a certain feeling of dissatisfaction with regard to it and its limitations. We use it because we must, because it is more real than the conventional metres and possesses a living rhythm as opposed to their dilletante rhythm, and also because it is directed by an intenser rhythmical ardor than prose.

A poet who wishes to give expression to realities in modern life—and I use the word in the strictly limited sense which the antithesis poeticalities suggests—will find in practice that he is confined for his literary expression to the two media of prose and free verse. There is an urgent reason for this which I will examine later. It is argued by some critics that there is no real difference between rhythmical prose and free verse. There is perhaps no arbitrary difference, but there certainly is a difference of degree. All writing, we must suppose, has a rhythmical beat of some kind, however arbitrary or awkward, and language as it tends towards a greater symbolical intensity of feeling tends also towards a more pronounced and formal rhythm, towards at the same time a simpler rhythm in which the beat varies less with a line or sentence of given length.

In free verse we find this interior rhythm, which is present in a less individual form in prose, asserting itself in the former convention to a much greater degree. Gathering intensity and form as it develops from the lax and wayward rhythm of prose, it tends to impose itself upon the eye as well as upon the interior hearing, and to demand for itself the line-length. This is what critics of free verse call, very crudely, "cutting the prose up into lines." That, however, is not what happens at all. If there is any such dichotomy it is an instinctive impulse of the verse itself whose interior vigor craves such an arrangement. Moreover to speak of so subtle and mysterious process as "cutting" is the kind of critical barbarism one would expect in an epoch of journalist-culture. There is a definite suggestion of objectivity about "cutting" which is misleading. The verse may be said rather to divide itself into lengths according to some almost unconscious combined action of ear and eye, pressed into the service of the verse by the dominating impulse of the poem.

What this impulse really desires but is too weak to secure is a regular rhythmic content for its expression. Free verse is verse true in material and inspiration, which has not succeeded in obtaining for itself a definite form. It is a literary expression which has failed to take its most convenient and final shape. Many reasons may be suggested for this: the confusion of the simple sensuous impulse by the taste and intellectual sophistication of the poet; the debilitating influence of a dilletante sense of poetry which should really be content with the old conventional verse forms in which admirable dilletante poetry may still be written; a lack of conviction, faith, or some other form of strength; a personal impulse sterilized by an inhibiting conception of *vers libre* which assumes it to be something final and sacred in itself. Such an attitude—and it is quite common—would induce a sensory and poetical paralysis each time that the poem attained sufficient momentum to carry it beyond free verse into fixed verse.

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Now we come to the grave question of this fixed verse or regular verse, the verse in which, after all, nearly all the great poetry of the world has been written. Can one not use it, then, nowadays? Nothing is easier, and as a rule nothing is more fatal. The great majority of rhymesters and verse-makers should, however, use nothing else. With it they will produce admirable drawing-room poetry, charming examples of dilletantism with which they will please themselves and their friends. But their poetry will have the smallest relation with actual modern life, even when its imaginative or emotional inspirations come as directly as possible out of that life. They will pour these perfumed ecstasies into the delicious old vessels, where all their life and character will be lost.

I have never seen anywhere a careful examination of the problem of why it is impossible or almost impossible to write real modern poetry which shall have no suggestion of affectation or dilletantism, in the regular conventional metres of the language like the sonnet, the heroic line, the couplet. It is not an easy question to answer. It seems to me to depend, to some extent at any rate, on the way in which these regular metres—indeed the whole use of metre—was approached formerly and is approached to-day. The force which originated the great classical metres and forms of poetry was in some degree a religious force, that is, it derived its power very nearly directly from religion and religious impulses. The close connection between religion and the arts, and the generative force of the former on the latter is generally admitted; there is no need to quote the usual illustrations given from Greek, Egyptian, Mykenaean and Celtic histories. The early metrical forms of poets in the beginning of a civilization have always borne a close analogy to some ritualistic element in the religion of that culture.

These forms have then been developed without any thought of the original religious impulse from which they grew. But this impulse or ictus, emotional, racial and religious in character, has fertilized these laicised and laicising forms. To take a very simple example from English literary history: it is impossible not to feel in reading the Border Ballads, for instance, how near both in matter and form they were to the deepest life of their day, how serious was the feeling which inspired them, how religious in fact. There was nothing frivolous in such writing, nor was there anything pretentious. They were simple, to use an adjective which is the despair of our modern culture.

Gradually, as these metrical poetic forms became more intricate and more intellectualized through the ascendency of technique or skill, they lost some part of their primitive spirit. But they did not change very greatly or very rapidly. They did not change, moreover, in anything like the same ratio of change with the spiritual force that was necessary to irradiate them. As they lost the primitive force which created them they also lost their meaning or a part of their meaning. They remained too classical for their content. It has become impossible in using them to produce more than a theatrical effect. It is now as if the writer were obliged to make an arrangement with his reader and his own sense of fitness: "Now we will talk in poetry." It is in fact no more than a masquerade in which the poet of the traditional strophes engages.

As a consequence the following conditions present themselves. In a language and culture such as the English language and culture, or for the matter of that, in almost any European language and culture, we arrive at a state where the ordinary poetic forms, too long removed from their originating stems and not fecundated by any other racial or religious impulses, are capable only of being used for literary or dilletante exercises, for work which shall look like other literary work and not for the containing of an original idea or ideas vital to the life of the day. Thus these forms will be unable to hold any deep and sincere religious or passionate feeling because, though themselves religious in their origins, each religious impulse seeks its own forms of expression, its own ritual and canon.

Now it can safely be said that all strong feelings and powerful thoughts to-day are personal in quality rather than communal, if for no other reason than for this, that civilizations are based upon economic and business bases rather than on religious ones. The men of genius of our age are solitary egotistic figures, would-be Napoleons of the arts, recognizing no higher authority in modern times than themselves, submitting to no authority in modern culture or religion other than their own, admitting only the superiority of antiquity. Such men have been our Wagners and Nietzsches, typical modern European men of genius.

As a result, the originating form and impulse which in ancient times was a racial and religious impulse occurs now as a personal one. The poet in such a case supplies the religious impulse himself by his faith in himself and his works—which gives form to his work. Being as a rule entirely sceptical in the religious sense, he cannot help but create for himself his own religion, be his own god, in fact. All this, it is true, in one sense is but another manifestation of the older race impulse, but it is in the matter of degree that the whole difference lies. When an artist of sufficient fineness and power arises to be able to create his own forms, he succeeds for a while, at any rate, in imposing them or giving them to his contemporaries and successors, who thus de-

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rive the vigor of their own forms from an artistic and not a religious source. Yet since this artistic impression is only one remove from the religious impulse, art is thus one of the few ways in which religion still lives on in the world of to-day.

With regard to modern verse, then, we have these divisions: for the dilletante, the purely literary man, the trifler, there remain the old literary forms which have little value now beyond their scientific qualities to recommend them. Determinating, originating thought they will not take. For anything pretty, elegant, insincere or clever they are excellent. And on the other hand for the expression of modern truths, for the expressions that come from the heart of our epoch with all its defects and its strength, all its good and evil, all its science and all its spiritual sterility, there are the great formlessnesses, the dissipating molten matter of speech, the possibilities of language.

This free verse is nothing in itself. Every man's free verse is different. All such verse constitutes attempts and failures to achieve poetic form—the poetic form of to-day which exists *in posse* where free verse triumphs over its own license and achieves self-mastery. In a sense, of course, verse will always remain free now, so far as one can see, but there is a difference again of degree implied here which is of the essence of the question.

EDWARD STORER.

To Justice Holmes

THE country's business at Washington is conducted in an odor of dead and dying cigars suspended in steam heat. Out-of-doors Washington is widely planned and men might move about it thinking for a nation. But in the halls of Congress, in the committee rooms, the air is warm and foul. It drags upon you till you wilt and your head swims, and the faces of men testifying grow hazy. In that mean atmosphere, so like the corridor of a cheap hotel, there is an invitation to relax and grow bored and cease to care. You slouch in your seat, you dawdle through your business, compressed and dull and discouraged. Thick, tepid, tired air it is, in which vision dies.

But there is at least one place in Washington where things have an altogether different quality, and no one I think comes away from it unmoved. It is the house of Mr. Justice Holmes. When you enter, it is as if you had come into the living stream of high romance. You meet the gay soldier who can talk of Falstaff and eternity in one breath, and tease the universe with a quip. "When I read absolute philosophy," he said once, "I feel as if I were sitting alone in a shadowy room. Every once in a while a mouse skips across the floor, and I catch glimpses of him as he darts into his hole. Then a wee voice seems to say, 'Lo! I am in the bosom of God.'" In him wisdom has lost its austerity and becomes a tumbling succession of imagery and laughter and outrage. There is always a window open to the night, but the perspective is that of the natural world. "I believe that we're in the belly of the universe, not that it is in us."

At seventy-five, a justice of the Supreme Court and a scholar known wherever the common law is studied, his heart is with the laughing sad men, who have mixed bitterness and beauty, and staked their souls on a gamble with life. He fought in the Civil War and was wounded; he has looked at death lightly, and known what it is to live dangerously. A sage with the bearing of a cavalier: his presence is an incitement to high risks for the sake of the enterprise and its memories. He wears wisdom like a gorgeous plume, and likes to stick the sanctities between the ribs.

He has lost nothing that young men have, and he has gained what a fine palate can take from the world. If it is true that one generation after another has depended upon its young to equip it with gaiety and enthusiasm, it is no less true that each generation of the young depends upon those who have lived to illustrate what can be done with experience. They need to know that not all life withers in bad air. That is why young men feel themselves very close to Justice Holmes. He never fails to tell them what they want to hear, or to show them what they would wish men to be.

W. L.

VERSE

Portrait of a Dilletante

[Published in the issue of February 26th with lines 10 and 11 reversed by the printer, and here reprinted with regret for the mistake.]

Bright-eyed and chirping like a curious bird,
From twig to twig, from thought to thought, he hops.
Music, the stage, the arts—he never stops
But off he flits, hunting the precious word.
All he has read, all he has ever heard
Are but a cue for agile epigrams;
A sipper and a connoisseur of shams
He echoes echoes, garrulous and unstirred.

His nonchalance is proof against all hurt;
Under this shield his dapper soul goes free
Of passion's valorous and sudden spears.
The world may howl; important and alert
He goes through life as through a library,
Looking for first editions of the years.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Away from Germany

SIR: I am proud of the fact that my paternal grandfather came from Germany. Many worthy men of independent intelligence and initiative have come thence, and the more independent their intelligence and the greater their initiative the more quickly did they come.

To hear some German-Americans seeking to arouse sympathy for the German cause addressing Americans of German descent, one would gather that the significant fact was that the ancestor was born in Germany and the accident that he emigrated to the United States. Whereas in perhaps a majority of cases the accident lies in the locality where the alert and independent ancestor was born, and the significant fact that he left Germany. Quite possibly he left because he disliked the Prussian military system. He may have been one of those who merely disliked the service, or he may have been one of the many who disapproved of the methods, aims and ideals of Prussian militarism, and who came to this country to escape serving its ends. Prussian militarism has certainly been a factor in inducing emigration from Germany, and, in my opinion, it has been a very important factor. Americans of German descent who are reminded that their ancestors came from *Germany* may well remember that those same ancestors came *from* Germany.

WILLIAM GUILD TAUSSIG.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

How to Integrate America

SIR: In a recent number of THE NEW REPUBLIC appeared an article by Walter Lippmann called "Integrated America." At the time it appeared I refrained from writing anything in reply because I felt that perhaps I was unduly prejudiced. However, as a number of people have urged me to express my opinions on this subject, I will try to state the way the problem impresses me.

As I understand the article in question, it advocates the government ownership of railroads as a substitute for compulsory military training, in the "Americanization" of the people of the United States. Mr. Lippmann argues strongly that compulsory military service is an unattainable ideal, so that those who urge it are wasting their time. If this is so, we should do better to concentrate our energy on something else, perhaps the government ownership of railroads. But before making the change of method, I want to be sure that it accomplishes the purpose equally well, and that it has a better chance of being adopted.

In the first place, we must have adequate national defense in some form; I refuse to argue on that subject. We wish to nationalize this country ourselves; not have it done for us by efficient blond gentlemen in spiked helmets, or energetic little brown men from a few rocky islands in the Pacific. Granting that, a really complete scheme for defense, based on universal military service, involves all the control necessary over not only the railroads, but also every other activity in the country that might be important in time of war. Universal military service means much more than simply training all the physically fit males to be privates of infantry. It means training privates and officers, and pontooniers and wireless operators and aeroplane pilots and railroad conductors and explosives manufacturers and everybody else, and then organizing all these units into divisions and armies with the requisite services for supply, ammunition, sanitation, etc. An organization such as that would accomplish all that the government ownership of railroads would, and much more, too.

I have commanded a company in camp composed of men obviously extracted from different races—Irish, German, Hebrew, Russian and others. I believe nothing in the world could do so much to unite those men as a tour of duty together in camp.

This whole plan may be impossible, but it should not be, and it should be easier than Mr. Lippmann's alternative. It is a plan that is fair to all. All make the same sacrifice for the nation; all must respond to its call. On the other hand, if the nation should take over the railroads, there would surely be a great deal of inequality and injustice. Some people would make great fortunes; others might lose all they owned. For a time, at least, there would be confusion and injustice so obvious to all that I think this plan is at least as impossible, and far more unfair than the plan Mr. Lippmann thinks it should supersede.

"Integrated America" also criticizes Colonel Roosevelt for the method by which he has argued his case. It must be remembered that in the crisis of the great war many people were changing their minds and forming their opinions very rapidly. There were some essential questions upon which it was most important that the people be informed at once, in striking terms. Colonel Roosevelt had the knowledge and the force to lead the people right when others were waiting uncertain, with wavering opinions. From the nature of the case, the information had to be given as the questions arose; it was impossible to completely forecast the events for a year in advance and put out, at the beginning, a statement to cover the mistakes of a year; and as the situation involved the very fundamentals of individual and national conduct, it was necessary for Colonel Roosevelt to use such words as "honor" and "courage" to which objection is now made.

I believe universal military service, with all that it implies, is an ideal worthy of our support both for defensive and for national ends. I believe Colonel Roosevelt's stand has made that ideal vital in the minds of a great number of his countrymen, and after it has been submitted to the country and passed upon, I hope it will not be necessary to substitute anything else. GEORGE EMLEN ROOSEVELT.

New York City.

[If compulsory military service were necessary for the defense of our territory, or for the defense of a definite foreign policy, I should not even care to argue the question with Mr. Roosevelt. We should have to adopt it whether we liked it or not. But I do not understand that either he or his cousin the Colonel advocates conscription on purely military grounds. They would admit, I assume, that an adequate navy, a larger regular army with shorter enlistments aimed to create a reserve, proper equipment, officers and so forth would create at least a sufficient first line of defense against any probable enemy.

But they realize at the same time that for a great modern war the decisive factor is the national organization behind the armaments. They realize too that a flexible, resourceful organization depends upon the mind and will of the

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people in it. Modern war is a relentless test of a nation's capacity to coöperate, initiate, think in detail and see large. That capacity obviously can not be called forth in sufficient quantity either by military training or by patriotic fervor. National organization depends upon a healthy, assured and educated population—a population educated to think and act in terms of a whole nation.

Germany has such organization. Japan is on the way to having it. But as Professor Veblen has shown so brilliantly in his book "Imperial Germany," the thing has been done by grafting a modern technical equipment on a basis of feudal loyalty. The result in Germany, and in Japan too, it is said, has been to create that peculiar combination of excellence and exaltation with lust of power which is at once the wonder and the terror of our world. The conditions which made Germany what she is do not exist in the United States, and imitation of Germany in anything but details is quite out of the question. But the fact remains that she has set a standard of foresight, cohesion and inventiveness so high that it is on the point of becoming a legend. Her bitterest enemies feel it. For many of us, indeed, it is just this internal excellence of Germany which makes Belgium and the Lusitania unbearable outrages. Things as cruel have been done by other people, but never before by a people educated as Germany has been in the school of science. The real cause of despair is that the most competent nation in the world should not only practise but condone the most deliberate crimes committed in this generation.

In some ways the worst effect of Germany's behavior has been to associate technical ability and effective national organization with heartlessness, with military vanity and an imperious temper. Because of what Germany has done, we have almost come to dread organization itself. The questions she has raised in all our minds are these: Is Germany's moral attitude the result of a feudalism not outgrown? Can such excellence be obtained by people with a liberal tradition, or is organization like Germany's dependent upon autocracy, the absence of real parliamentary government, and a tradition of personal loyalty to a mystical sovereign?

There is no *a priori* answer to these questions. For Americans only one answer can be a satisfactory answer. We are committed to the democratic experiment, and whatever organization we achieve, whatever technical ability we produce, will have to come with the consent and through the initiative of our conglomerate people. But when you go to the people to-day as they are represented in Congress and in the state legislatures you find an appalling inability to think and act on the scale of a nation and to plan for long periods of time. To achieve the kind of preparedness which Mr. Roosevelt has in mind—preparedness for peace or war—the hundred million of us will have to be pulled together into habits of coöperation of a quality that we have never known before.

As I understand Mr. Roosevelt, he is urging compulsory military service for just this purpose. I do not deny that it would produce many good results, that it would improve physique, cultivate precision, and even spread a kind of democratic camaraderie by the glow of the camp-fire and the common discomfort of a crowded tent. But all this does not scratch the surface of the real problem which Colonel Roosevelt is trying to meet. Something has to be planned which is deeper than a few months' drill, deeper than Congress. Something has to be done to nationalize the daily economic life of this country if we are to produce people who are nationally-minded. I suggest in the article to which Mr. George Roosevelt refers, that a unified railroad system and a country-wide scheme of insurance are measures which would go deep enough into American habits and experience to change the character of our attitude towards national problems. They would, I think, integrate us sufficiently so that our public life would have enough organization to do the much greater things which are needed—to develop a national system of education, redeem rural life, begin to deal with the questions of business control, and maintain a consecutive and well defined foreign policy. I have no dogmatic objection to compulsory military service as such. It might, if it were necessary or sufficiently desirable, be made a part of compulsory education. But it is only an incident of a national program, and not the essence of it. Before it becomes feasible, before it will be of any real value, a much greater integration must have taken place. My criticism of Colonel Roosevelt is that he has not addressed himself to the kind of national program upon which the success of his vision ultimately depends. He is trying to lay out a good gymnasium on the roof before he has built the house.

WALTER LIPPMANN.]

Calls Russian Ballet Travesty

SIR: Mr. Moderwell says in THE NEW REPUBLIC that the Russian ballet "has brought the music of the nineteenth century to its logical conclusion." It is hard indeed to find suggestions of anything so stupid and vulgar in the music of the nineteenth century unless it be the ragtime that the ballet does not condescend to use.

What he really means, I suppose, is that the dance as a part of music—visible music combined with audible—is the logical next step after program music. To those of us who see dancing as the highest form of art and a necessary part of music, that is not difficult to admit. Of the audible-music side of the performance much might be said. "If you went to the Russian Ballet and kept your eyes closed," the article reads, "you would still be getting your money's worth." That is quite true, but what the hungry music-lover in the gallery feels is the awful desecration wrought by this thing which pretends to be art and does not at a single point so much as touch the borders of infinity.

In describing the ballet of Serge de Diaghileff I can think of nothing but a circus. Stravinsky's music for "Petrouchka" is superb, big with the bigness of life itself; the dancers are like so many trained poodles, with just about as much feeling for the music. As for "The Afternoon of a Faun," I marvel how one with any spark of soul could take that exquisite composition of Debussy's and make of it something so grotesque and hideous, yet this, according to Mr. Moderwell, is "perhaps the most individual and creative thing the ballet has done." I am not speaking of any "moral" issue at all, though I understand the production was condemned, but of the art side and that alone. I could only close my eyes in horror at the sacrilege—close my eyes and feel the pure radiance of the nature-world as Debussy felt it, with no suggestion of vaudeville comedy. These nymphs are Egyptian rather than Greek; and one has only to recall the pupils of Isadora Duncan or of Florence Fleming Noyes to realize how beautiful an interpretation might have been—all the difference between artificiality and art.

Really, if one could find in music no more to feed the imagination than the makers of the Russian Ballet find, we should be poor and vulgar creatures all, and I for one will not admit such poverty.

HELEN CRAMP.

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Vocational Education

Learning to Earn, by John A. Lapp and Carl H. Mote. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

ITS jingling title does not do justice to this book. It is not an argument of the familiar "business school" type for a dollar-and-cents education. It is a vigorous and sound statement of the needs for reorganizing the traditional public-school education of the country. The need is set forth from the standpoint of the social welfare of the people constituting the nation. The accusation brought against the traditional education is not that it does not enable those who receive it to earn money, but that it is adapted to the select few who have superior economic opportunities, and is then "applied 'willy-nilly' to the great mass of children, half of whom leave the school at fourteen years of age." In the scheme of reorganization stress falls not upon pecuniary rewards but upon the necessity in a democracy of a genuinely universal education which will make equality of opportunity a reality for all, with the adaptation to individual capacity and interest which is involved in this ideal. I agree with the authors that ability to make a useful and decent living is an important part of the program for realizing this ideal; my only criticism is that the title should have unnecessarily given a handle to the stiff-necked opponent of educational reform.

The subtitle of the book is more nearly descriptive: "A Plea and a Plan for Vocational Education." This subtitle is to be understood, in view of the content of the book, as a plea and a plan for an educational system by which all education shall be relevant to a life remunerative to the individual in happiness and in intellectual progress, as well as in material rewards, and a life serviceable to the community in product and method. Much importance is attached to the fact that this country has passed through the crude quantitative, wholesale stage of its national life, and is entering upon one of qualitative and detailed adjustments. Waste of natural resources and carelessness as to human life, together with almost exclusive attention to raw materials and coarse methods, was the mark of the former. Conservation of resources and of life, together with preparation of individuals with trained imagination and resourceful skill for expert action in a complex society, must be the mark of our future America—unless degeneration is to set in.

This broad vision protects the authors from viewing industrial education as merely a factor in the competitive international race for the world's commerce as well as from a tendency to view it as simply a device for giving employers more skilled workers. The complexity of the problem is recognized. It is expressly stated that "no adequate knowledge of the processes of industry and commerce, the needs of workers or the conditions of efficiency and success is available upon which to base a sound industrial or commercial education." It is deliberately asserted that the establishing of a proper relationship between industry and education "may mean a complete reorganization of industry to meet such conditions as the state is determined to fix as entrance requirements for the worker." The general tone of the book would be more radical than it is if there were more emphasis upon the need of further careful study of industry and of the needs of workers, and more insistence upon control by the state of industry with reference to its educational effects upon workers. I wish more space could have been devoted to these points. But one cannot have everything in a single book, and it is much to have such statements upon the record, together with detailed studies of the various aspects of the whole problem. Of these special topics I have left myself no space to speak. But the book is altogether the most complete survey, chapter by chapter, of the many phases of the question of industry in education which exists. It even comprises a chapter on the use of libraries for vocational purposes—a topic upon which many who are familiar with the main points of vocational guidance, training for the farm, the home, the shop and commerce may learn much that is valuable. In short, the authors have provided a vade mecum. Would that consultation of its material might be obligatory for all editorial writers who have occasion to touch in our daily papers upon the reorganization of the public school system.

JOHN DEWEY.

Ironies of Death

The Brocklebank Riddle, by Hubert Wales. New York: The Century Co. $1.30 net.

"THE BROCKLEBANK RIDDLE" is not a detective story, at least not an ordinary detective story, although it has to do with a most unconscionable theft, with the detection of the thief and with dispossessing him of his ill-gotten gains.

The scene is laid in modern England with a bit of tourist Switzerland thrown in, but as I read I was sharply reminded of the other end of the world, reminded of two incidents reported at various times from the Far East. The first is set down in one of the Chinese classics. Anciently in one of the Chinese states, the relation goes, the "children at the death of their father took their mother on their backs and cast her out, saying that the wife of a disembodied soul might not dwell together with them." The second affair is from a tale from the Torres Straits. A man called Mutuk was once kept away a month from his island home by a series of untoward circumstances. On his return his people were amazed to see him. Thinking him dead, they had celebrated his obsequies. At first they could hardly believe it was he, but finally, convinced of his identity, they felt so chagrined at having held a funeral for a live man that they trapped and clubbed him to death.

English parallels to these incidents are set as a rule or would be set in somewhat different terms. English dowagers have often had to leave home and on many occasions the presence of the recently bereaved is unwelcome; but forcible ejection is not the English custom. As for a reappearance after death, we should hardly suppose that the *revenant* would be murdered. His story would be more or less indifferently submitted to the Society for Psychical Research or perhaps stigmatized as a remarkably poor joke, a joke in very poor taste. In the case of William Brocklebank, however, neither of the latter courses is followed, and it is he, not his widow, who is advised to leave home. The treatment accorded him is less sophisticated than one might expect, unsophisticated enough to be suggestive, as I say, of un-English regions.

The story begins with Brocklebank, his wife and his business partner off on a vacation trip to the Alps. To cap their lesser climbs they decide to go up Mont Blanc. In that high altitude Brocklebank's heart gives out, and by the time they get him down to the *Grands Mulets* he is dead. Mrs. Brocklebank and Reece, his partner, take his body to Geneva to be cremated. Reece sees the corpse put

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into the furnace, and the widow carries the casketed ashes out with her from the crematorium. Then the two return to England, Mrs. Brocklebank to her country home, Reece to London. The morning after his arrival Reece goes of course to his office. He notices a peculiar concern on the part of the office staff, but he puts it down to that "exaggerated awe, mingled with a sense of personal importance which takes hold of a certain class when it is brought in contact with death." Entering his private office, he is about to give an order through the speaking tube when his door opens and in steps Brocklebank.

From here on the mystery is well kept up, the narrative is pertinent and quick, and the machinery, which is theosophic, is of the best; but the really distinguishing interest of the book consists in its account of the effects produced upon the "bereaved," particularly upon the widow and the partner, by Brocklebank's resurrection.

Mrs. Brocklebank is a youngish, simple-minded woman who had been very dependent upon her middle-aged, genial, capable and utterly materialist husband. Besides, she was entirely devoted to him. Reece too had had a great liking for Brocklebank, enjoying his imperturbable common sense and his unfailing jocularity. Both widow and partner have mourned for him sincerely. They have been anxious to carry out his wishes about the disposal of his body and his ashes; the widow has of course put on black; their circle of acquaintances has been properly notified and the letters of condolence answered. The adjustment to the bereavement is made sadly but peacefully, and how thoroughly Reece had realized when he stepped away from the small talc window of the crematorium. "It was the most awful spectacle I had ever beheld," he comments—it is he who tells the story—"yet it was satisfying, even comforting. It filled me with a sense of completion. Physical life was over, and there were no ragged tails remaining."

And then, it seemed, it was not over, after all. Brocklebank is alive again, the same good-natured, competent, self-satisfied and unquestioning fellow, easy to get on with from his very lack of introspection or of spirituality. He seems a bit "fined down," to be sure, he weighs less, his hair is less grey and smoother, and in the course of time other little differences become noticeable. Nevertheless, so slight do these changes seem to Reece, at least, that he hardly pauses to weigh any hypothesis of mistaken identity.

Reece's first feelings are of terror and horror. He wants more than anything else to get away and stay away. Then he realizes he must break it to Mrs. Brocklebank. Trying scenes follow at the country house. Until she hears her husband's voice over the telephone Mrs. Brocklebank remains incredulous, then she is panic-stricken. "You will have to face it," Reece tells her. "He will have to come. I can't stop him. Besides there is the question of ways and means. We can't wind up the estate of a man who is signing his own cheques." "But I can't live with a man who is dead," pleads Mrs. Brocklebank.

Reece returns to London and the office, hoping against hope to find it empty of his partner, feeling how unutterable were the relief to prove himself the victim of hallucination. Instead he finds Brocklebank in the office at work as usual. "Are you still bent on keeping up the mystery?" asks the man who has not yet heard of his own death. The question proves highly irritating. "Knowing what Mrs. Brocklebank had undergone, knowing what I had undergone myself, I felt some sort of quick insensate annoyance against the man whose incredible presence was responsible for this pain and stress."

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Brocklebank is not at all dismayed when he at last hears of his demise. Although he realizes he can't give a very clear account of himself during the interval between his failure of consciousness on Mont Blanc and his awakening a week later in a London hotel, it is a lapse of memory to be readily enough explained by his illness. Nor, with his usual common sense, does he worry about the attitudes towards him of his partner and his wife. He is willing to humor them. After a visit home, a visit so acutely painful to the "survivors" that it proves disconcerting even to the incredulous and obtuse "deceased," he returns to London to live at an hotel, the one he came back to life in.

The immediate tension is relieved, but to Mrs. Brocklebank and to Reece the horror persists. And the horror is mingled with repugnance, aversion, loathing. "I hate him," exclaims Mrs. Brocklebank. "Death which a while ago had seized her mind as a cold and cruel force, revealed its beauty, its beneficent mystery, in the livid light of this horrible, unnatural return, this hideously real return. . . . Loss had seemed a supreme disaster, but loss was what now she craved beyond anything on earth." And so she continues to wear her widow's weeds and even to cherish the emptied casket—it had been found by Brocklebank during his brief sojourn at home and he had amused himself by scattering his own ashes in his rose garden.

Before long another woman comes into the story. Mrs. Stuart has also lost a husband; he has disappeared, and the uncertainty of what has become of him seems to her "worse than a death." It is this lady who finally solves the riddle, but I won't spoil it by telling the answer. Mrs. Stuart does more, however, than supply clews. Her

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presence contributes considerably to the speculative interest in personality that underlies the whole story. How much does physical appearance count, how much personality? In what proportions do they count to different persons? The suggestion that personality may count little in the most intimate relations, as well as in the most casual, is part of the pervasive but highly covert irony of the book.

It is perhaps safe for me to add that William Brocklebank is at last put where he belongs, "finished" as they say in the islands of Torres Straits. Towards the close, the man himself begins to be persuaded, not that he has no right to be there, that his presence is the intrusive outrage the others think, a presence to rid one's self of by murder if need be, but merely that life has lost its salt. "I don't want anything," he confesses. "The last few days I've had the queerest feeling I've ever had in my life, as if I shouldn't mind if I was dead."

Whether we belong to ancient China or to Melanesia or to twentieth century civilization, we are indeed strict about our social classifications. Nor can the dead afford to ignore them any more than the living. The dead too must know their place.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

The Price of Radicalism

The Pillar of Fire, by Seymour Deming. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co. $1.00 net.

MR. SEYMOUR DEMING follows his eloquent "Message to the Middle Class" with an assault upon the colleges. His book he calls "a profane baccalaureate," and it rips along as from one who is overturning the altars of Baal. No one has a style quite like this, with its mixture of Greek classicism and Broadway slang, with its cheap sardonic kicks and its sudden flashes of insight. Mr. Deming moves you, but he leaves you in the end more entertained than persuaded. His prophetic fire is so much fire and so little light. The first part of the book is devoted to picturesque denunciation of the colleges for not training a man to make a living. The second glorifies the radical as the man who scorns success, and has turned from everything which the world thinks of value. Such logic dims the force of his blast.

I quite agree with Mr. Deming that the object of an education is to know a revolution when you see one. Colorado, Calumet, and West Virginia should make the college sky much more lurid than they do. But something more is needed for this "class unconscious of class-consciousness" than clarion calls summoning it to be radical. Mr. Deming has too much of the martyr-complex. He talks as if the radical of to-day occupied the position of social outlawry that the Abolitionist of 1850 occupied. To be radical, he says, is to be thrust out of the society of cultivated men, and to seek one's companionship among the meek and lowly. He speaks too always as if this little group of early Christians living in catacombs were all of the saintliest breed, the foolish who have confounded the sayings of the wise. Most of us used to believe both of these things. But most of us have given up looking on ourselves as heroes and martyrs because we blaspheme the "property-god of Things-As-They-Are." We have climbed out of the catacombs, and we find many radicals disillusioning. We have either grown up or the world has moved on.

The real trouble with middle-class radicalism in this country to-day is that it is too easy. It is becoming too popular. It is not the heroic abnegation which Mr. Deming pictures, but something which almost anybody can encompass. The ranks are full of the unfocussed and the unthinking. Let the college man or girl who listens to Mr. Deming's sermon join the Intercollegiate Socialist Society or some similar institution, and discover how discouragingly respectable they are. The only way by which middle-class radicalism can serve is by being fiercely and concentratedly intellectual. This is something which these organizations have so far failed to do. The labor movement in this country needs a philosophy, a literature, a constructive socialist analysis and criticism of industrial relations. How very far even the most intelligent accredited representatives of labor are still from such a goal is shown by the Manly report. Labor will scarcely do this thinking for itself. Unless middle-class radicalism threshes out its categories and interpretations and undertakes this constructive thought it will not be done. Mr. Deming must add to his message of fire the clear cold determination to be intolerantly intellectual.

Given the prophetic fire, the young middle-class radical to whom Mr. Deming appeals should be able to find himself in an intellectual movement which is struggling to clarify its ideas and use them as tools for turning up the layers and interpreting the changes in the social world about them. Intellectual radicalism should not mean repeating stale dogmas of Marxism. It should not mean "the study of socialism." It had better mean a restless, controversial criticism of current ideas, and a hammering out of some clear-sighted philosophy that shall be this pillar of fire. The young radical to-day is not asked to be a martyr, but he is asked to be a thinker, an intellectual leader. So far as the official radicals deprecate such an enterprise they make their movement sterile. Yet how often when attempts are made to group radicals on an intellectual basis does not some orthodox elder of the socialist church arise and solemnly denounce such intellectual snobbishness. Let these young men and women, he will say, go down into the labor unions and the socialist locals and learn of the workingman. Let them touch the great heart of the people. Let them put aside their university knowledge and hear that which is revealed unto babes. Only by humbly working up through the actual labor movement will the young radical learn his job. His intellectualism he must disguise. The epithet "intellectual" must make him turn pale and run.

And so this middle-class radicalism tends to drift, destitute of intellectual light. The pugnacious thinkers who want to thresh things out find themselves labelled heterodox and esoteric. There is little controversy because nobody will quarrel about ideas. The workers must not be offended and the movement must not be split. The young radical soon learns to be ashamed of his intellectual bias, and after an ineffectual effort to squeeze himself into the mind of the workingman drifts away disillusioned from his timid collegiate radicals. His energy evaporates, because intellectual radicalism was afraid to be itself.

Mr. Deming ignores this practical postlude to his challenges. The pillar of fire was not an exciting alarm but a guide which led the way towards the Promised Land. A cloud by day, its mission by night was to give forth not heat but light. Just so far as such messages as Mr. Deming's are real pillars of fire they are the needfullest we could have.

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

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The Psychology of Woman

Functional Periodicity: An Experimental Study of the Mental and Motor Abilities of Women during Menstruation, by Leta Stetter Hollingworth, Ph.D. New York: Teachers College. $1.00.

A BOOK discussing the functional periodicity of women by a member of the sex most concerned is a rare event in the scientific world. Such a book is that just published by Dr. Leta Hollingworth. Most of the "authorities" on this subject have been men, though one American woman of note, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, defied the taboo some forty years ago by publishing a medical-statistical study on the question of rest during menstruation. Both Dr. Jacobi and Dr. Hollingworth, the one a physician and the other a psychologist, had the intellectual modesty to qualify themselves for the study of the phenomenon in question before they took it up. But various male writers, apparently with no other qualification than that they happened to belong to the exempt half of humanity, have boldly rushed in where women have not dared to tread. As Dr. Hollingworth says, "Men of the most varied interests and professional equipment have written on the matter—historians, physicians, lawyers, philosophers, physiologists, novelists, and educators. Men to whom it would never have occurred to write authoritatively on any other subject regarding which they possessed no reliable or expert knowledge have not hesitated to make the most positive statements regarding the mental and motor abilities of women as related to functional periodicity."

As late as 1876, the *British Medical Journal* published a long and serious discussion as to whether a menstruating woman will contaminate the food she touches. This mythological view is not entirely confined to the past. I myself know women, not tenement drudges alone but middle class mothers, who believe that a mysterious, unclean influence emanates from them during the catamenial period. It was the necessity for clearing away such "remnants of magic" that challenged Dr. Hollingworth to make her experimental study. She found traces of the same superstition, only a few degrees removed from the primitive form, in the writings of twentieth century thinkers. In fact, the immediate stimulus to her inquiry was the unscientific utterances of scientific leaders on the subject. The *a priori* judgments of Dr. G. Stanley Hall, Mr. Havelock Ellis, Herr Möbius, and others are instances of the third-rate science which has dominated this field. Masculine imagination, uncorrected by experience, is for obvious reasons incommensurate for the task.

Dr. Hollingworth, who is an experimental psychologist, has given us exact data instead of anecdotal evidence. She conducted a series of experiments extending over three years. Her tests were made on twenty-three women and two men, the latter subjects, as unaffected by the influence under investigation, furnishing the control-records for the group. The mental and motor traits covered by the tests were voluntary speed of movement, steadiness, speed and accuracy of perception, and controlled association. The method used was adopted bodily from an investigation into the effects of caffein, in which it had sufficed to measure so small an influence as one to two grains of caffein. The net result of her experiments showed that there was no measurable loss of energy and acumen in the women investigated during the menstrual period. Twenty-three normal women gave no evidence of periodic mental and motor inefficiency. Their variability of performance was not greater than that of the two men studied. Havelock Ellis's statement that men live on a plane while women live on the upward or downward slope of a curve received no corroboration. There were fluctuations in the performance of both, but the records of the women were not noticeably capricious at the periodic interval.

The author's experiments did not extend to tests of judgment. For lack of reliable data, she does not herself directly discuss this trait. But she quotes from the work of a French scientist to show the uncritical method of collecting data and the extravagant conclusions which have hitherto passed muster among the male critics of women's mentality. This particular savant, who is often quoted both in England and America as an authority on the subject, asserts that women are inclined to errors of judgment and false evaluations at this time and that they therefore should not be trusted with the administration of public affairs. In this conclusion he is supported by an English physician who says that "the reverberations of her physiological emergencies" would make of the voting woman a danger to the commonwealth. As a matter of fact, the failure of women's judgment under the stress of their physiological emergencies is as yet unproved by specific instances.

The woman movement in this country owes gratitude to Dr. Hollingworth for her essay in real science, a study of the "psychology of woman based on truth, not on opinion." Science in this country owes her gratitude for helping to clear a field hitherto overgrown with rank superstitions and perennial jokes. The clean intelligence and incisive intellect which her work demonstrates are just the sort of mental tools most needed in the immediate attack on the problem. Our first necessity is for a healthy scepticism from which alone all real knowledge concerning the nature of woman must spring.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

Health and the Woman Movement, by Clelia Duel Mosher, M.D. California: Stanford University Bookstore. 25 cents.

THIS little pamphlet is a challenge to the anti-feminist theory of woman as *Die ewige Kranke*. The writer, an experienced physician, has had opportunity for prolonged observation of the conditions of health of over eight hundred women, mostly normal, and denies flatly that there is any validity in the popular belief that woman is condemned by nature to a monthly succession of illness involving mental instability and physical incapacity, to be followed at the close of the reproductive period by a crisis that may altogether destroy personal responsibility. There is indeed a vast deal of feminine disability, physical and mental; but how much of it is due to the psychological influence of treating as pathological what is really normal, how much to irrational clothing and diet, how much to empty intellectual life and physical inactivity? In the normal case, practically all, according to Dr. Mosher. And therewith she turns the argument from feminine disability squarely against the anti-feminist. *Die ewige Kranke* is the product of a world that represses women and excludes them from active affairs. In a world that expected women to be well, and placed upon them duties commensurate with their normal strength, we should hear very little of characteristically feminine morbidity. Even in the world as at present organized, a changed viewpoint and attention to the simple hygienic rules laid down by Dr. Mosher would work marvels for the health of the better half of the race.

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